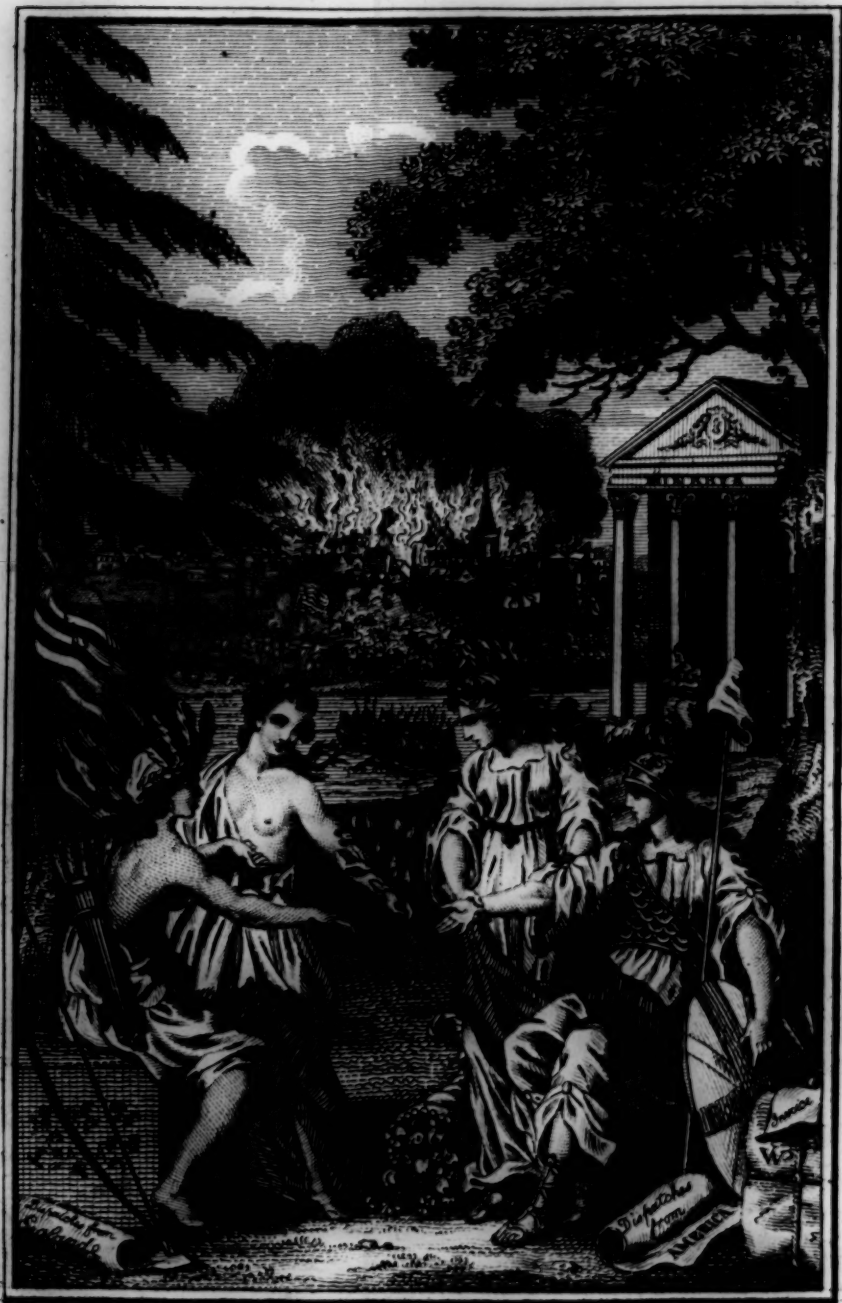


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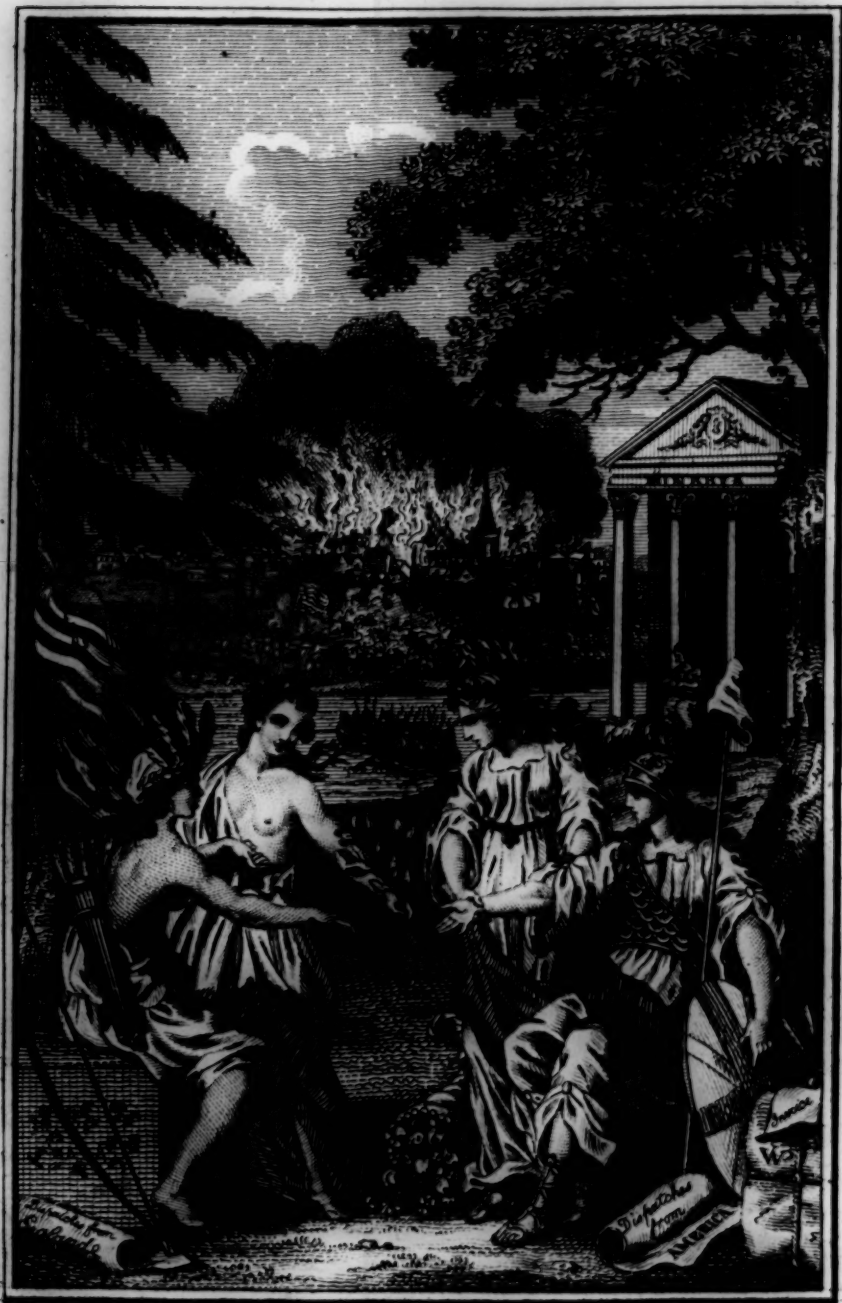


EXPLANATION

On the left hand is AMERICA seated on a Sea Chest. On the opposite side sits BRITANNIA. In the middle stand Peace & Concord intreating the contending parties to enter into a Treaty of Peace, which may be honourable as well to the Colonies as to the Mother Country, and thereby restore Trade & Commerce to both. At the porch of the Temple of Wisdom is represented the Author compiling this New History of America. In the back ground the other side of the Water a View of a Battle & a Town in flames shewing the present unhappy situation of North America.

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P R E F A C E.



P R E F A C E.

THE Discovery of a New World was such an Event, as marked a distinguishing Æra in the History of Nations. Though the Spaniards claimed the Honour, and reaped the first Benefit of this Discovery, yet other Nations put in for their Share ; and the English, when at last their Colonies were established by the Industry of the Settlers, and had grown up to Maturity under the Protection of the Mother-Country, flattered themselves, that scarcely any Hopes, which they could raise from the flourishing State in which they appeared, could ever be disappointed.

But, within a few Years, Things having taken a different Turn ; and the present Disputes, in which we have been involved with those Colonists, have occasioned some to question, Whether such Discovery has been of any real Benefit to Great-Britain.

Without going so far, it is certainly to be lamented that such Disputes ever existed ; as they are now so destructive to the Interests of both Parties. The Contest has been long and violent. When Spirits, flaming high for Glory or Dominion, meet Hearts perhaps too anxious for Liberty, who shall restrain either ? When determined Men meet, who shall foretell the End of the Contest ?

Unhappily, both for Great-Britain and America, other Nations, who have already owned themselves not to be Judges of the Question in Dispute, have yet thought fit to interfere in the Controversy.

Hence have arisen many Evils ; and it is probable that many others yet will arise, which have
hardly

hardly been foreseen in England ; and which the others have scarcely ever supposed or imagined. This is the fatal Alliance which has widened the Breach ; and which bade fair, at one time, to separate the Colonies from the Parent-State for ever.

From the Beginning of the present Disputes, Men were continually divided in their Opinions, relative to the Justice and Policy of this War. The ablest Pens have been employed on both Sides : but, as is generally the Case, few Converts have been made. The same Parties embrace the same Opinions ; and moderate Men have been but too little regarded. There is great Reason to believe, that Misunderstanding, as well as Intrigue, had a Share in ripening those Disturbances. A celebrated Philosopher has said, that most Disputes were occasioned by Mistakes. Perhaps those subsisting between Great-Britain and her Colonies, proceed in a great Measure from their mistaking their mutual Interests.

In Affairs of this Kind, likewise, it is to be observed, that all are willing to give a Verdict, while few are acquainted with the Merits of the Cause. A man may have a good Heart and a sound Understanding, but yet there is certainly something more wanting in this Case ; that is, a competent Knowledge of the Subject : and in Cases wherein the Rights of a whole People are involved, this cannot be attained without some Acquaintance with their History. Their Origin, Manners, general Disposition, the ancient Usages by which they were governed, and the Manner in which they acquired their Property ; nay, even their lowest Situation and Circumstances are deserving of Attention.

It

It is with this view, that we here present the Public with A NEW AND IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF AMERICA; tracing the Colonies from their first Emigrations, to the flourishing State in which they appeared in the Year 1770; and following them through all the Events of a fluctuating and destructive Civil War, to the present Time. Happy were it, could we add, to it's Conclusion by an honourable Peace to both parties.

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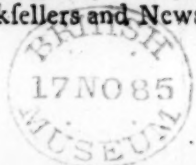
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India Islands—Of the Continent of America—
Conquest of Mexico and Peru—Conjectures on
the Origin of the Americans—Their Customs
and Manners—General Description of the In-
dian Nations.*

THE vast continent of America, bounded on
the east by the Atlantic, on the west by
the great South-Sea, extending as far as lat. 58°
S. it's northern boundaries unknown; was first
discovered by Columbus, who called it Paria,
but it received it's present name from Americus
Vesputius, a Florentine, at a later period.

B

Christopher

Christopher Columbus was a Genoese by birth, a person of great judgment and penetration; having applied himself to geography, he had conceived an opinion that the vast portion of the sea, generally supposed to be spread over so great a part of the terraqueous globe, could not well subsist without a certain portion of land to counterbalance it; a supposition quite contrary to the opinion of the geographers of those days.

Possessed with this idea, he naturally enough conceived, that from the rotundity of the earth, it might be possible to find a passage to the East-Indies, by sailing westward; and having projected a design of this nature, he was eager to put it in execution. After having, in vain, applied to his countrymen, he offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain; but they were at first disregarded, these princes being at this time intent upon their project of expelling the Moors from their dominions.

Columbus therefore sent his brother Bartholomew over to England, where Henry VII. then reigned, to make proposals of the like nature; but Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates, lost his credentials, and the king not being very willing to listen to him, no progress was made in the matter. His brother, however, still continued soliciting the Spanish monarch to listen to his proposals; but he placed his chief reliance on the queen, who was more ready than any of the court to hearken to his reasons, and in part to adopt his sentiments. Numberless were the arguments used against his enterprise; he was called a projector of new worlds, a madman,

a madman ; nay, some were absurd enough to argue, that granting him to be right in point of geography, yet if the vessels which were to go upon this expedition should *descend* in the west, they would never be able to *rise* again on the eastern side of the globe. From hence may be gathered the wretched state of mathematical learning in Spain, and the violent prejudices of men against any new projected improvement.

Columbus, at last, by the means of Isabella, brought his scheme to bear, after having agreed to certain conditions, which were signed in the camp before Granada, which was then in possession of the Moors, and besieged by the Spanish forces. He was much encouraged to this undertaking by the accounts of several mariners, who, having been forced out of their course by contrary winds, declared that they had observed evident tokens of land at many leagues distance from the western islands. Comparing this with the reports of a new discovered country, far to the westward, mentioned both in ancient stories and more modern traditions, this able mariner set out upon his voyage, not doubting of accomplishing his purpose, being appointed admiral of a small fleet of three ships, and viceroy of countries which nobody believed he would ever be able to discover. The first was the Santa Maria, which he commanded in person ; the second the Pinta, under Martin Alonso Pinzon ; and the third was the Ninna, of which viscount Yannez Pinzon was commander : only the first of these was a decked vessel.

This enterprising man sailed from Palos, in the month of August, steering his course westward, in the height of expectation to fall in

with the western part of the East-Indies, after a short voyage. At the first blast of a foul wind; the crews of all the vessels began to murmur: Signs of land were said frequently to be seen, and as frequently they were deceived. At last they actually entered into a conspiracy against their admiral, and he was obliged to promise to return, in case he did not make the land within three days. The wind proved so favourable, that he soon fell in with St. Salvador, one of the Lucayas islands. The inhabitants there wearing ornaments of gold, gave the Spaniards to understand, that the precious metal, of which they seemed so desirous, came from a southern country. The admiral therefore directed his course towards Hispaniola; Martin Alonso Pinzon had first gone thither, being allured by the hopes of gold. Here his commander found him, and received some apologies for his conduct. Columbus endeavoured to establish a colony here; after which he set sail for Spain, with two vessels only. He again lost the Curavel Pinta in a tempest, at which time he wrote an account of his discoveries on parchment; and putting it into a barrel, threw it out into the sea, with a view that it might be found if he and his crew should perish. However the storm abated, and Columbus proceeding on his voyage, touched at the Azores, where he met with much ill treatment from the Portuguese inhabitants; yet departing from thence, and coming to Lisbon, he was apparently well received by their faithful majesties, some of whose subjects were likewise employed on discoveries in another quarter of the world. At his return he was received with admiration and applause. On the 25th of September 1493,
he

he sailed on another expedition with 17 ships, having 1500 men on board; bulls having been obtained from the pope, confirming the possession of the countries already discovered, and of those which might be discovered in future. The admiral took in wood, water, and cattle, at Gomera, in his course, and then proceeded on his voyage; during which, he took possession of Guadaloupe, and some other isles. Holding on his course to Hispaniola, on his arrival there, he found the colony he had left at that place totally destroyed. When he enquired into the cause of this unexpected disaster, he was informed by a friendly Cacique; who added, that they had at first quarrelled among themselves about gold and women; and afterwards another Cacique, to whose dominions some of them resorted, had murdered them: and of this he gave undoubted proofs, some wounds which he had received being inflicted by the weapons of the savages. Columbus sailed from thence to Cuba and Jamaica, and held on his course through various storms towards Europe. In his voyage, he met with his brother Bartholomew, whom he appointed his lieutenant of the isles, a measure which, however, proved disagreeable to the Spanish court.

A war breaking out with the savages, Columbus was obliged to engage them, and, with a force far inferior to theirs, utterly routed and subjected them for ever to the dominions of their catholic majesties. In the course of this voyage, he had discovered the Caribbee islands, and was in almost every respect successful; yet there were not wanting those who misrepresented all his actions to the Spanish court, and, chiefly at the

instance of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, this great man was not only divested of his command, but also sent home like a criminal in irons.

On his arrival in his native country, he justified himself at court, and was again received into favour by a prince who was ashamed of the treatment he received. He was, however, only in part restored to his naval command; never to his government; and was afterwards, in tempestuous weather, denied entrance into the port of an island which he had subjected to the Spanish dominions.

A period of four years elapsed before Columbus was again fitted out; and once more resumed his plan of discovery. It was now that he first saw the main land of America, falling in with it at six degrees distance from the equator. Here, however, he made no settlement; but being informed that there was a sea on the other side, he found his mistake in supposing that those islands, which he had before discovered, belonged to Asia; nevertheless, they still retained the name of the West-Indies. This able navigator likewise concluded, that the western and southern oceans communicated together. He sought for this communication in the bay of Panama, but was disappointed; though it is not at all unlikely that earthquakes or inundations will effect such a passage in a future age.

After all his voyages and discoveries, Columbus found himself neglected at court: he died at Valladolid in 1506, ordering his irons, which he had long kept in his chamber, to be buried with him, as proofs of the reward he had received

ceived for the services which he had rendered to his king and country.

Ten years afterwards, Hernando Cortes and Francis Pizarro, two Spanish adventurers, formed a design of trying their fortunes on the continent of Paria, which, before this time, had received the name of America, as has been already noticed. Six hundred soldiers, and a few pieces of cannon, constituted the whole of the force of Cortes, who sailed from the island of Cuba in the year 1519; a Spaniard, who had been a prisoner in the country, serving for his interpreter; and an American lady, whom he afterwards met with, and caused to be baptised by the name of Marina, acting as a guide, and doing great services in the course of his expedition.

Arriving in the country now called New Spain, he reached Tlascala, where he was soon given to understand, that a monarch called Montezuma (or Mutezuma) was the most powerful prince in those parts; that he possessed a wide extended empire, ruled over a number of Caciques or princes, was served in gold, and had a vast army under his command.

Cortes being resolved to advance, and the Tlascalans opposing him, he engaged and defeated them; but afterwards learning that they were Montezuma's enemies, and considering the small force he had brought with him, he entered into an alliance with a republic that might prove serviceable to him in those designs of conquest which he had already conceived, and only wanted a proper opportunity to put in execution.

Having assured himself of the assistance of those people, he assumed the character of am-

bassador from Charles V. then king of Spain, to the emperor of Mexico, of whom he demanded an audience. Frequent messages passed between the Spaniards and this prince; the former advancing with all convenient expedition, while the latter used every artifice to dissuade him, and even laid snares for him, which, however, were timely discovered by Marina and the Tlascalans.

At length he advanced to Montezuma's capital, which was built upon a lake, and joined by causeways to the surrounding country. Here he found spacious squares and buildings well formed, though constructed without tools of iron. Montezuma, who lived in great state, received him with apparent complaisance; but some skirmishes, which had happened between the Mexicans and the Spaniards, furnished proof sufficient of their mutual enmity; and the head of one of the latter was secretly presented to the monarch, who contemplated it with great satisfaction, as he was well pleased with a circumstance that might tend to contradict a notion entertained by some of his subjects, who had denominated those strangers the children of the sun, and had supposed them to be immortal.

The Spanish commander, observing that matters were drawing towards a crisis, resolved at once upon hazarding a bold attempt; he seized the emperor in his own palace, obliged that prince to acknowledge himself a vassal of Charles V. and made use of him to promote his designs against the Mexicans.

But in the midst of this tide of success, an event happened which had nearly put an end to all the hopes of Cortes. Velasquez, the governor

nor of Cuba, had encouraged Pamphilo de Narvaez to undertake an expedition against him. But Cortes being timely informed of this design, suddenly quitted the city of Mexico, surprised and routed his rival, and, having incorporated the vanquished soldiers with his own army, marched back in triumph to the capital, where he found his presence was much wanted, as the small force he had left to guard Montezuma, had, by this time, been greatly distressed, and were now besieged by the Americans. But when Cortes advanced, he obliged the enemy to give way on all sides; and at last Montezuma was killed by a stone, which one of his subjects threw at him, while he was endeavouring to appease a tumult, which the insolence of the Spaniards, and his own submission to a foreign power, had occasioned. Guatimozin succeeded, who vigorously opposed Cortes, but was obliged at last to submit to the fortune of that successful commander. This Guatimozin was the monarch who was laid on burning coals, in order to make him discover some treasures, which, it was supposed, he had hidden. A subject of his who suffered the same torment, and was exclaiming aloud, "Dost thou think then, said the emperor (who exhibited the greatest composure) that thy master is laid on a bed of roses?" This monarch fell a sacrifice to Spanish avarice and ambition, as did likewise a number of his subjects. Even the Tlascalans were brought into slavery, notwithstanding their alliance with the Spaniards; and thus ended the Mexican empire.

In order to subvert that of Peru, Francis Pizarro, a needy adventurer, undertook an expedition of a similar nature by way of the South-

Seas. At Lima, called by the natives Rimac, or the City of the Kings, the emperor, or inca, was then at the head of no less than 40,000 men: thus attended, he came, in answer to a message of Pizarro's, to meet the Spaniards at Quito. Being so well guarded, he thought he had nothing to fear; but he knew not whom he had to deal with. The Spaniards, though few in number, yet well armed and provided with horses and ordnance which they purposely concealed, waited impatiently for the arrival of the Peruvians, whom at first they received as friends; and in their kindness pretended to instruct them in the rudiments of the Christian religion, while some of their people were plundering a temple, in order to enrich themselves with it's golden ornaments. A Spanish priest made a set speech in favour of Christianity, which the interpreter engaged to make the inca acquainted with: at the same time a copy of the gospel was put into his hands; being told that it was the "word of God," he put it to his ear, and finding no sound to issue from it, he cast it upon the ground: at the same time, some confusion being occasioned by the party that had plundered the temple, the Spaniards rose in a tumult; the pretence of which was religion, but which had far other motives. Assisted by the horses and the artillery which was now produced, the Spaniards easily slaughtered the Peruvians; some of whom, notwithstanding, most obstinately defended their monarch, till Pizarro himself drew him from his litter and made him prisoner.

Athabalipa was for some time treated with an apparent respect. In the mean time his captors expected an enormous ransom for this prince who had dethroned his brother; for whose death they suffered

suffered him to give orders, even while he was under confinement. And of this very crime they afterwards accused him, and he was put to death by command of Pizarro the conqueror; a man who, though thus loaded with the favours of fortune, was so ignorant, that he could neither write nor read. The deceased inca was succeeded by Copac, who seemed to have an opportunity of recovering the liberties of Peru, had he taken care to improve it. Almagro, another Spanish adventurer, formerly Pizarro's lieutenant, entered into a contest with his general, which was finally decided by a battle fought under the walls of Cusco, which he lost, and was executed; but the inca disbanded his army, and the Peruvians acknowledged their subjection. Pizarro was afterwards stabbed at noon-day in his palace, by some of the adherents of Almagro the deceased.

Thus fell the two great empires of the western world; subverted by a few vagrant Spaniards, whose arms and discipline overmatched their numbers, and whose very persons seemed to overawe them into compliance. Their conquerors made a most inhuman use of their power. Private adventurers at first, and afterwards governors appointed by the court, oppressed the natives beyond measure. Many thousands, some say hundreds of thousands of them, were slain; some on account of religion as it was pretended, and others on various pretences. Sometimes a dozen of them were hanged up in honour of the twelve apostles; sometimes they were worried by dogs; to whom also their infants were thrown to be devoured. The survivors were condemned to work in their own mines, to gratify the avarice of their rapacious masters.

The rigours of this slavery were somewhat softened, indeed, by the interference of a worthy Spanish prelate; but still the situation of the people, except where they are intermixed with the Spaniards, must be considered as truly unhappy; and the most hardy tribes among them are always in readiness to revolt against their conquerors.

At the first appearance of things one would be led to imagine, that there was an equality between all the sons and daughters of Adam; yet on a close review of the facts before us, we shall be led to conclude, that America is indeed the younger sister of Europe: and their own history, so far as we are able to gather it from their own traditions, seems to confirm us in this opinion.

The inhabitants of Mexico had indeed formed themselves into civil societies; but their improvements were of an early date. Athabalipa's father was only the twelfth inca of Peru; so that it was only during the space of thirteen reigns (not 400 years) that the Peruvians had been civilized by their princes; who pretending themselves to be descended from the great luminary, and asserting that they possessed a divine authority, had drawn them from their woods and caves, and introduced a regular form of government among them. As to the North-Americans, they still continue wild, and therefore may be concluded to be of a later origin.

These people, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to discourse hereafter, appear in their manners much to resemble the Tartars; from whom some suppose them to be derived. It is well known that the Russians generally supposed America to be joined to the main land of Europe, or separated from it by a very narrow straight in the north-eastern quarter. It has been affirmed, that
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our last voyagers saw a strait of this kind, but that it was so closely blocked up with ice, that the shipping could not hope to pass it at any season of the year. If this be the case, shall we suppose those daring adventurers of the Tartar race to have passed this crust of ice, as some of their Scythian ancestors formerly did the Thracian Bosphorus, by which means they made incursions into the Roman empire? Or shall we rather suppose, that some of these wanderers, embarking in such vessels as they had, and being ignorant of the art of navigation, were thrown by chance upon this foreign shore? There are great difficulties attending these conjectures; yet the resemblance above mentioned is certainly very striking. It was easy for such men who had no records, nay it might be easy for any set of people living in woods and caves, to forget their origin, and become just what we now see them in North-America.

Towards the south-west of the continent, the people bear some resemblance to those at the extremity of the eastern world, and might not improbably, wafted over by summer seas and favouring breezes, have come thither from Japan. I shall here subjoin an extract from the account of an old Indian, belonging to the tribe called the Jazons, who gave M. Le Paye du Pratz the following account, on an expedition to trace the origin of the American natives; and conclude with some remarks upon the Indian nations in general.

“ This old man took his way (as he says) by the high grounds on the eastern banks of the river St. Louis; which river having passed, he came to the country of the Missouris, whom he describes as a people living almost entirely upon flesh, and seldom cultivating corn. Among this tribe he spent
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the winter, which was so severe, that the snow lay six feet deep upon the ground.

“ From thence he was directed westward to the nation of the Loutres, or Otters; where he was told, that he would be likely to gain some information concerning the circumstances which he wanted to enquire into. Having procured a proper recommendation, he departed from thence, and came to a small settlement on the banks of a river; whose chief demanding who he was, and what he did there, he replied, that his name was Moneacht Ape; that he came from the Loutres, and was recommended by the Sachem Salt Zear to the Great Roebuck. This Great Roebuck, being the father of the chief in question, received him with the greatest hospitality, and ordered him to make use of his name amongst the nations to which he directed him, and amongst whom he arrived without encountering any accident.

“ The last of these nations (continues Moneacht Ape) is settled a day's journey from the [eastern] sea, and about a league from the river. They live concealed in woods for fear of the bearded men. I was received by them as if I had been one of their own countrymen. They are continually upon their guard against these bearded men, who do all they can to carry off young people, doubtless to make slaves of them. They informed me that these men were whites; that they had long black beards falling down to the breast; that their bodies were thick and short, their heads large, and covered with stuffs; that they were always clothed; and that their upper garments reached to the middle of their legs, which, as well as their feet, were also covered with red or yellow stuffs; their weapons made a great noise,

noise, and a great flash: but, when they saw the natives were too numerous, they retired to a great canoe [a small ship] which contained thirty of them. They added, that these strangers came from the West [which must necessarily be the extremity of the opposite Asiatic shore] in search of a soft wood, which dyes a beautiful yellow colour: for which reason the natives had come to a resolution to destroy these trees; since which they had not been so much troubled with those visitors; but still they infested two neighbouring nations who had not pursued the same policy: but all the neighbouring Indians had now agreed to arm and join together the succeeding summer, in order to destroy the invaders.

"As I had seen fire-arms, and was not afraid of them (added the traveller) and as the route they purposed to take was the way to the nation I was in quest of, I readily agreed to go with the warriors of this nation, as soon as summer came, to the general rendezvous. The bearded men came later this year than usual. While we waited for them, the natives shewed me the place where these people laid their great canoe. It was between two high rocks which inclosed the mouth of a shallow river, whose banks were covered with yellow wood. An agreement was made to lie in ambush for the invaders, in order to surround and cut them off while they were busied in their usual employment. In the space of seventeen days, two great canoes came to their usual place. The first thing the bearded men did, was to fill certain wooden vessels with water. On the fourth day, they armed and loaded, and went to cut wood. They were then immediately attacked on all sides: but, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we could kill but eleven;

eleven; all the remainder of them getting on board their little canoes, from whence they soon gained their large ones; and then launching into the great water they presently disappeared.

“ When I examined the dead, I found them to be less than we are, and very white; their bodies were thick, and their heads large; about the middle of the head the hair was long: they do not wear hats as you do, but round their heads was bound a quantity of stuff. Their clothes were neither of wool nor bark, but something like your old shirts, very soft, fine, and of various colours. [This must have been silk, as it was declared to be neither bark, wool, nor linen.] The covering of their legs and feet was all of a piece. I endeavoured to put on one of their hose, but my feet being too large frustrated the attempt. Out of the eleven whom we killed only two had fire-arms, powder and ball. On trying their pieces, I found they did not carry so far as yours. Their powder was mixed of the larger, middling, and finer grain; but the large made up the greater part.

“ These were the remarks which I made upon the bearded men. Afterwards, leaving the warriors with whom I came, to return home, I joined the nations that were settled on the coast farther to the westward; and we followed the course of the coast which was directly between the north and the west. When we came to their settlements, I observed that the days were much longer than with us, and the nights very short. I asked them the reason of this, but they would not tell me. Their old men, hearing of my design, told me it was in vain for me to proceed any farther: at the same time they said, the coast extended itself a great way between the north and west;

west; that it afterwards turned short to the west, and after running for a considerable distance in that direction, it was cut by the sea directly from north to south. One of them added, that at low water were to be seen rocks and shallows in the channel, which once had been dry land. In the end, they all joined in persuading me not to travel any farther; assuring me that the country was cold and desert, destitute of animals and inhabitants; and advised me to return to my own country. I accordingly took their advice, and returned by the way that I came."

M. Le Paye du Pratz hesitated not to believe every article of this account, which indeed seems probable enough: and he seemed to be of opinion, that the bearded men above mentioned came from some of the isles of Japan. The distance of the Jazons from the farthest nation visited by Moneacht Ape, if measured in a straight line, appears to be about 300 leagues.

Having already spoken of the natives of the southern continent, we shall now proceed to say something of the North-American natives. Savage in their manners, they are generally found equally fierce and faithless; possessing many of the vices and few of the virtues of wild nature; and also apt enough to adopt the crimes and excesses of civilized nations, as has been often found by experience whenever an opportunity offered.

The fiercest of all these tribes are the Esquimaux, so called from their living upon new flesh.

They are untractable, mischievous, and shocking to behold; yet their skin is white, probably because they are always clothed; their shirts being made of bladders, or the intestines of fish, and their coats generally of a bear's skin: the men wear

wear likewise breeches made of skins, having the hair inwards, and faced with fur or ermine on the outside. They have also shoes made of skins, and boots of the same over them; and are often doubly and trebly shod in this manner: they carry arrows pointed with the teeth of a sea-cow when they cannot get iron: they live in the open air during the summer months, and reside in caverns in the winter season.

In the western part of Canada there is a vast track of countries, some of which are unknown, and some uninhabited; but the French were acquainted with the Matafoins, the Mellonis, the Christinaux, and the Affinaboils. The three first of these speak what is called the Algonquin language. As to the Christinaux, they live to the northward of lake Superior. It is said that the Indians on the river Bourbon, and those on the river South Teresa, differ in their language. We are told, that at the distance of a hundred leagues from this river, it is not navigable for fifty more: but a passage is found by means of rivers and lakes that disgorge themselves into it; and afterwards it holds it's course through a fertile country, which continues as far as the lake of the Affinaboils.

These Indians, as well as those of Canada, entertain a number of superstitious opinions. They believe in a good and an evil genius, but acknowledge the sun as their great divinity. All these tribes go under the general appellation of the Savannois, on account of the Savannoks or low grounds which surround their country. These people, neglecting culture, are so destitute of provisions when the hunting-season is expired, that they have been known to prey upon their own species; and, when a man grows old, it is a custom

custom for his best-beloved son to strangle him. An excellent refutation of those modern philosophers, who have affected to prefer a state of uncultivated nature to the refinements of civil society ! If this needs a further illustration, let the reader attend to some other customs which we shall have occasion to relate in the course of this history.

Amongst all the northern nations inhabiting about Canada, the Sioux, Algonquin, and Huron languages are the only radical ones. The Sioux have no settled dwellings, but, like the Tartars, wander from place to place ; sometimes lodging under a wigwam on one spot, sometimes on another. They have a custom of cutting off the tips of their noses, and some part of the skin on the tops of their heads : and some people have supposed that they bear a resemblance to the Chinese in their manners and language.

The people called the Assinaboils inhabit on the borders of a lake of that name, embosomed in hills ; and of which many wonders are recounted by credulous Europeans. They are a reserved people, very unlike their neighbours the Christinaux ; and are well calculated for bearing toils and hardships.

The country to the north of the island of Montreal is but thinly peopled ; however, some villages belonging to the old inhabitants yet remain. The Nipissings, in particular, are so called from a lake of that name, and are the descendants of the ancient Algonquins. Of the Outawas, though formerly a populous nation, few are now to be seen. The barbarity, in short, of these Indians, their manner of living, their bloody wars, their killing their old men, and often deserting their children, together with their total ignorance of medicine in case of disease, have contributed to
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decrease their numbers; insomuch that many of their nations do not contain above two thousand, scarcely any of them six thousand persons.

The Algonquins were once reckoned the greatest hunters, and consequently the greatest warriors in these parts. The Iroquois, who at first acknowledged their superiority, at length put in their claim, and a war ensued, in which a third nation, called the Hurons, assisted the Algonquins, and the contest was carried on with a diabolical fury: this was the state of the Indians when their country was first discovered.

But here it is proper to take notice of another tribe, who called themselves Illinois, signifying, as it seems, MEN, by way of distinction from the surrounding savages. Of these we have the following description:

“ The Illinois keep several wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous; and if they find them defective in chastity, they cut their noses and ears: many of their women carry upon their faces these great marks of their infidelity.

“ These Indians are well shaped and dexterous; they are excellent marksmen, a circumstance which renders them formidable to their neighbours, especially to those inhabiting the western quarter, who are equally ignorant of fire-arms, and of tools made of iron. When the Illinois set out upon an expedition, they give the whole village notice of it, by making an outcry the evening before they go, and on the morning before they depart. Their captains are distinguished from the private soldiers, by certain scarves of skins, wrought with curious workmanship. They have abundance of game; they sow beans and melons, which are excellent, and their Indian
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corn seldom fails them. The cabins in which they live, are large and commodious. They are covered and paved with mats of rushes; their dishes are made of wood, their spoons of bones, taken from the skulls of wild oxen; their clothes are the skins of beasts, yet, in some respects, they appear to be more civilized than their neighbours. There is, however, a strange infatuation prevailing among them; some of the Illinois take the habits of women in their youth, which they are not allowed to throw off in maturer years. These men consort with the females, yet they are allowed to go to war, provided they fight only with clubs; and they always assist in the council.

“ The Calumet is what the Indians greatly reverence. These savages seem to look upon it as the arbitrator of peace and war, the determiner of life and death. The calumet, or pipe, of peace, however, is different from that of war. The former is used to confirm their alliances; the latter to declare hostilities. It is made of a red stone, the head is like that of our common tobacco-pipes, but larger, and it is fixed to a hollow reed, in order to hold it for smoking. They ornament it with feathers of various colours, and they call it the Calumet of the Sun, to whom they present it: they dare not wash themselves in rivers in the beginning of the summer, nor taste the new fruits of the trees till they have danced to the calumet. This is a very solemn ceremony, used often to confirm alliances, and sometimes to entertain a visiting nation.

“ In summer they perform it in the fields, in winter in their cabins. In the former case, they
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chuse a shady spot, in the midst of which they spread a large mat, setting on it the god of their chief, or him who gives the dance; for here every one has his particular idol or monitoo, notwithstanding they generally confess a power far above these secondary deities, which are often birds, serpents, or any thing else to which they take a fancy. To the right of their monitoo the calumet is placed, and a sort of trophy is made round it with their arms.

“ All things being thus disposed, those who are to sing take the most honourable seats; then all the rest place themselves round in order as they come in, having first saluted the monitoo, which they do by blowing the smoke of their tobacco upon it; every one in his turn dancing with it in his hands, and following the cadence of the songs. After this, he who is to begin the dances, takes the calumet and presents it to the sun; then he moves it in various directions, sometimes lowering it near the ground, at others advancing it, as if he would make it fly, and then he presents it to the spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while, and thus they conclude the first scene of this savage ball: the second scene is a fight, accompanied with vocal and instrumental music; for they make use of a drum upon these occasions. One of the warriors, on a signal given, takes up a bow and arrows, with an ax, and is encountered by the dancer, who defends himself with the calumet alone, each of them dancing all the while. After this, he who held the calumet makes a speech, in which he gives an account of his warlike achievements, and accepts of a present from the chief. He then gives the calumet

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to another, who, having acted his part, gives it to a third, and thus it passes from the hands of one to another, till it is returned to the chief, who presents it to the nation invited to the feast, in token of friendship and confirmation of alliances."

Such is the general sketch of the manners of a variety of Indian nations, with whom the reader will be better acquainted in the course of the work; and though differing in language, and certain peculiar manners, he must always expect to find the same leading features characterise the North-American savages. A love of war and hunting, an aversion to labour, and the cultivation of lands, and a strong propensity to lust and cruelty, may, with some few exceptions, be traced through all their tribes. Such were the nations whom the first settlers had to deal with, barbarous in war, and faithless in peace; they gave them more trouble than all the woods and wilds they had to clear, or all the other difficulties which they were obliged to encounter. Yet, endued with fortitude, and a spirit of perseverance, they surmounted these obstacles, and, with unremitting toil and labour, laid the foundation of a large and flourishing empire.

C H A P. II.

*Cabot's Discovery—New-England; it's Climate—
Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia, &c. settled—
Charter Government—The Foundation of Bos-
ton—Union of the four Governments—Quakers
Witchcrafts—Delusions—Affairs of New-Eng-
land.*

THE Italian adventurer, Cabot, was the first, who, sailing under a commission of king Henry VII. made a discovery of the North-American continent, touching at that part of it since called Canada, or New France; but he made no regular settlement there; and even the discovery itself seemed to be either forgot or disregarded.

The state of England in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and his sister Mary, were unfavourable to colonization. But in Elizabeth's reign, about the year 1584, near a century after Cabot's expedition, the famous Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out certain ships under the command of the captains Amidas and Barlow, who went on shore on an island near the main land of North-America. And some time afterwards, possession was taken of the continent to which the general name of Virginia was given, in honour of the maiden queen.

In the month of April 1585, Sir Richard Gren undertook an expedition with seven ships, under the direction of him who planned the former. He first arrived at an island called Wokokon: he passed over from thence to the continent, but plundering an Indian town,

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was obliged to reembark his people: he then went to Roanoak, where Amidas and Barlow had first landed; and having left a small colony there, he returned to his native country.

Captain Lane, who was at the head of this colony, proceeding to the continent, resolved with his handful of men to make discoveries in a strange and savage country. He was particularly encouraged by an Indian chief, named Wingina, who pretended to direct him where he might find great treasures. The idea of discovering mines of gold and silver at that time possessing all the European nations, Lane followed his advice: his faithless friend deserted him; and though the Indians did not fall upon him at that time in a hostile manner, yet, as they took care not to supply him with provisions, and it was afterwards found that he had entered into a conspiracy to destroy the English, they were glad to abandon their enterprise on the appearance of Sir Francis Drake's fleet upon the coast, and to set sail for England. Scarcely were they departed, before Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships at Roanoak; where, though he found no traces of the old colonists, yet he ventured to leave fifteen men behind him.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1587, equipped these three ships, having 150 persons on board; who were incorporated under the name of the Borough of Raleigh in Virginia. When these arrived at Roanoak, they found nothing but the skeleton of a man who had been killed by the Indians; to whose fury seven others had fallen a prey, and the remainder it appeared had gone over to Cape Hatteras: yet this account did not deter the new colonists from entering into hostilities with the Indians. At length, they were so much

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distressed, that it was judged necessary to send their governor to England, in order to solicit supplies. He succeeded; but on his return, met with a terrible tempest, and contrary winds, which obliged him to put back. In the mean time, his colonists, unsupported by their countrymen, all perished by the sword and famine: such was the unfavourable aspect of affairs in these parts, and so little encouragement had the English to colonize North-America.

Nor did the captains Gilbert and Gesnold, who sailed from Plymouth in the year 1602, to that part of New-England called Virginia, though they erected a little fort there, meet with any success, further than what might be expected from a trading voyage; they quarrelled with the Indians, and their attempt was frustrated. The same was the fate of two subsequent undertakings, the one set on foot by Mr. Hacluyt, prebendary of Bristol; the other by the lords Southampton and Arundel, in the year 1605.

Yet, notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, a company of gentlemen and merchants, in the year 1606, raised a fund for the establishment of new colonies in North-America; Sir Walter Raleigh's grant being forfeited in consequence of his attainder, and subsequent execution in the reign of king James I. These associates were incorporated under the names of the London and Bristol companies. After a prosperous voyage, the fleets came to anchor off the bay of Chesapeake, in the month of April, and immediately turned their attention towards their new establishment.

Powers were vested in them to erect a government, which they accordingly did; but commencing

mening hostilities against the Indians, and quarrelling with themselves, they had determined to forsake their new settlement, called James-Town; when, at a critical time, lord Delaware, with a considerable reinforcement, and extensive powers, arrived from England.

He caused the colonists to remain quiet in their old dwellings; he established many good regulations, and well supported the character with which he was invested. By his means the settlement flourished; tobacco was cultivated; proper laws were enacted; and the constitution of the infant colony was, by degrees, modelled in such a manner, as to resemble that of England. This great man having returned to his native country, for the benefit of his health, died on his passage back to Virginia, in the year 1618; and was succeeded by Sir George Yardley in the government. This may properly be called the first rise of the British settlements in North-America.

The soil and climate of New-England, where the colonists afterwards so amazingly multiplied, are various; but the climate is in general healthful, and the land fertile; though the summers are short and the winters long and severe, which latter circumstance is generally accounted for, by the large fresh water lakes which lie behind this province. The land in many places towards the sea, is low and marshy; but in the interior parts of the country swells into hills, and rises into mountains. The following is a just description of the country:

“ New-England, lying in the temperate zone, is justly esteemed happy and healthy. Around Massachusets-Bay the soil is black and rich, though not so fertile in the northern districts.

Few countries are better watered than this, which abounds in rivers and lakes of fresh water. Of the former, seven are navigable, and all of them abound in variety of fish. Connecticut river, in particular, is navigable a great way for the largest vessels; it arises in the northern frontier of the province, and runs directly south for the space of 200 miles, till it discharges itself between the towns of Saybrook and Line. The coast likewise abounds with cod, and the country is fruitful in all kinds of excellent pulse or corn, especially Maize or Indian corn, the ear of which is about a span long, composed of eight or more rows of grain, and about 30 grains in each row, so that each ear is likely to produce about 240 grains upon an average. In many of the North-American provinces, the stalk grows to the height of seven or eight feet, and is proportionably strong and thick. This stalk is jointed like a cane, and like that it is supplied with a saccharine juice; but from experiments made, it has proved not at all capable of being reduced into sugars. Each joint is marked with a long leaf or flag; and a branch of flowers, resembling rye blossoms, shoots out at the top. The Indians boiling this corn till it is tender, eat it with fish, flesh, or fowl, as bread. They sometimes bruise it in mortars before they boil it; but the more usual method is to dry it high, and then sift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which the Indians either eat dry or mixed with water. The English generally make bread of it by baking it in the same manner as they do flour; but the best food made from it, which is called *Sanfi*, is procured by the corn being steeped in water for about half

half an hour, and beat in a mortar till it is quite cleared of the hulk, then sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk or butter and sugar. Strong beer may be brewed from this corn without malting it like barley.

"A great variety of fowls and game, such as hens, geese, ducks, turkies, swans, herons, pigeons, wigeons, heathcocks, partridges, &c. are found in New-England. European cattle, in general, multiply there; and the horses, though small, are found and serviceable. Elks, bears, wolves, ounces, fables, monkeys, racoons, rabbits, hares, squirrels, and a variety of other quadrupeds, wild and tame, are found here; some of the former of which are imported into England as curiosities."

[The author whom I have cited, mentions also a sort of deer twelve feet high, called the Moose; but as the very existence of such an animal is doubted, and some are inclined to class it with the griffons and unicorns of antiquity, I shall not trouble the reader with a description of this wonderful quadruped.]

"This province abounds in excellent timber, both such as is necessary for ship-building, and such as we use in dying, or tanning leather. Yet such was the destruction made in the forests by those who cleared the country, that it was thought necessary to pass a law for preventing the waste of woods, by inflicting certain penalties upon any persons who cut down trees before they were arrived at a certain age specified. The pines here are said to be equal to those of Norway; but the oaks are reckoned inferior in quality to those of English growth. Ship-building, however, was always reckoned a prin-

cial employment at Boston, where vessels were sometimes built by the New-England merchants on their own account; and sometimes on commission. Since the present unhappy troubles, they have employed themselves in building privateers or small vessels of war, as the Americans call them.

While the first planted colony continued increasing, other settlements had been established on various parts of the sea-coast of the vast western continent. Among these was Newfoundland, which Cabot had discovered, being between the 46th and 51st degrees of north latitude, in the year 1497. The summers here are hot; the winters very cold. The ground is in general barren of most vegetable productions, timber excepted. Deer, hares, and beavers, are found in abundance; but the cod-fishing, on the Banks, constitutes the chief worth of that possession. The natives are a mild people, but much given to pilfering; they paint their bodies, which are generally ill-shaped, as their features are: they appear to be beardless, which seems to arise from a custom, adopted in youth, of pulling out the hairs by the root. This settlement has always been looked upon by the French with a jealous eye.

The island called Newfoundland, was first taken possession of by the English, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Sir Francis Bacon, in conjunction with several others, afterwards obtained a grant of lands from Bonavista to St. Mary's; whither one Mr. Guy conducted a colony. In the year 1715, a colony was planted at Cambriel, as were several others afterwards in various parts of
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of Newfoundland: in the mean while, the French settled themselves at Placentia.

Bordering on Newfoundland is Nova-Scotia, which, comprehending Acadia (under which name many disturbances have arisen between us and our Gallic neighbours) is bounded by the ocean on the south, and on the east by the river St. Laurence, and by Canada and New-England on the west and south-west; extending from the 43d to the 51st degree of north latitude.

Frequent quarrels now took place between the rival nations; the French claiming a right to the territories which the English asserted belonged to them.

Annapolis, Canso, and Halifax, are the principal towns in this province; the former has an harbour said to be capable of containing a thousand vessels. Canso to the eastward is remarkable for its fishery: Halifax has likewise a fine harbour, and is commodiously situated; but the country round it is not fruitful. In the year 1743, three thousand families were transported to this new settlement; but the place is subject to frequent visits from the Indians. The Cape Sable coast is also famous for fishing; and the island of Sables lies in the neighbourhood. Cape Breton, situated from 45° to 47° of north latitude, is the largest island in the gulph of St. Laurence. The fort of Louisbourg here was demolished, when the place was taken by the English.—But, to return.

If the colony at James-Town succeeded, there were other settlements which deserved the attention of the English. Some adventurers sailing from Plymouth, in the reign of king James I. settled in that part of the country called New-Jersey,

where they founded New-Plymouth; and by degrees spread themselves in the adjacent country. This colony continued increasing, but not without frequent dissensions arising among them. In the mean time captain Worlston came over to settle at Massachusset's-Bay; but his men mutinied and chose one Morton for their chief: but he, having committed the crime of dancing, with some of his people, round a maypole, in derision of the Puritans, was secured by a party sent from New-Plymouth for this fault, not for his mutiny. The government dismissed the accusation, but the design miscarried.

After this, Sir Henry Roswel, Sir John Young; and others, got a patent for incorporating themselves, under the name of The Governor and Company of Massachusset's-Bay in New-England. These colonists had the power of electing their governor and other magistrates, and that of enacting laws not contrary to the laws of England. The new settlers, afterwards divided; one part establishing themselves at Dorchester, while the other resorted to a different spot; but, soon afterwards removing themselves, they founded Boston, now the capital of the New-England province. The Dutch had by this time settled themselves in New-York, as the French had done at Canada.

Nor were those adventurers, whose lot was cast to the southward, at all unsuccessful. Pensylvania was settled by the famous William Penn, son of Sir William Penn; who obtained an extensive charter for this purpose from king Charles I. bearing date March 4th, 1680. The genius of this government, as it stands at present, will be best seen by the charter delivered by Mr. Penn, in lieu of the former one, which was surrendered to him as in some respects

respects inconvenient. The clauses in this new charter are the following:

“ First, No persons who believe in one Almighty God, and live peaceably under the civil government, shall be molested in their religious persuasions, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship contrary to their mind. Secondly, That all persons who profess to believe in Jesus Christ, and are capable of serving the government in any capacity, must solemnly promise, when required, allegiance to the crown, and fidelity to the province and governor. Thirdly, That annually, on the first day of October for ever, there shall be an assembly chosen to sit on the fourteenth day of the same month, viz. four persons out of each county, or a greater number, as the governor and assembly may from time to time agree, with all the powers and privileges of an assembly, as is usual in any of the king's plantations in America; two-thirds of the whole number that ought to meet shall be a *quorum*, to sit upon their own adjournment. Fourthly, The freemen, at their meeting for electing representatives, are to chuse sheriffs and coroners. The justices in the respective counties to nominate clerks of the peace. The laws of government shall be in this style: *By the Governor, with the Consent and Approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met.* Fifthly, No person to be licensed by the governor to keep an ordinary or tavern, but such as are recommended by the justices of the county. Sixthly, No alteration to be made in the charter, without the consent of the governor and six out of seven of the assembly met. [Signed, William Penn, at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania,

October 28, 1701; the first year of my government.]” And then comes the following addition: “Notwithstanding any thing *formerly* alleging the provinces and territories to join together in legislation, Mr. Penn hereby declares, that if at any time hereafter, within three years, their respective assemblies shall not agree to join in legislation, and shall signify the same to him: in such case, the inhabitants of the three counties, and of the province, shall not have less than eight representatives; and the town of Philadelphia, when incorporated, shall have two representatives. The inhabitants of each county in the territories shall have as many persons to represent them, in a distinct assembly for those territories, as shall be by them requested; and the province and territories shall enjoy the same charters and privileges.”

Such were the outlines of a government which might justly be denominated free, though the executive power was in some measure lodged in the proprietor. William Penn made a purchase of the lands from the natives. His towns were as towns of refuge; and men of all nations and religions had it in their power to live happy in this Trans-Atlantic settlement: except in one instance of a versatile man, named Keith, we have not found any kind of persecution in this settlement; a circumstance which does honour to the head of William Penn, and to the hearts of the Quakers; who also have in general chosen rather to suffer violence in their persons and estates, than to mingle in those troubles which of late have so much distracted their unhappy country.

The province of Pennsylvania boasts of many fine towns. The city of Philadelphia, which before

fore the late commotions contained 13,000 inhabitants, is particularly worthy of notice. This beautiful city is situated on a point of land at the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuyl, rivers of great note in America. It was originally intended to comprise eight parallel streets two miles long, intersected at right angles by sixteen others, each a mile in length. There is a square of ten acres in the centre; and the two principal streets which are finished are 100 feet wide. Most of the public buildings are disposed round the square. The houses in general have gardens and orchards behind them. They have here fine quays, commodious warehouses, and good docks for ship-building; and there are about two thousand houses, mostly well built of brick or stone, in this capital; which, though unfinished, exhibit a beautiful appearance.

Maryland, of which we shall next speak, was founded by lord Baltimore; who, though a Catholic, retiring from England on account of the disputes raised here by religionists, founded this colony; on principles of a nature similar to those adopted by Mr. Penn. His brother, with about 200 persons, went over thither upon this arduous undertaking, which succeeded beyond expectation; even the Indians generally living with them as friends; a circumstance, of great consequence to an infant colony. And though the envy of the Virginians at length armed these savages against them; yet the steadiness they shewed in their defence, joined to the good usage which the natives received from them, secured the people of Maryland from the threatened evil.

As no sect was refused entrance, the colony naturally increased: the founders of it felt indeed

but one inconvenience, which was, that the Catholics being out-numbered by the other sects, after the revolution, the latter used all means to wrest the government out of their hands, and would have ungratefully deprived them of all their rights; but that the English government would not permit such an abuse. Certainly it is a most charming prospect, to behold men of all religions, instead of persecuting each other, living together as the children of Israel, worshiping one gracious Almighty Being whom they profess to serve. Pennsylvania and Maryland were both founded on these principles, and their illustrious legislators cannot be too much commended.

There is no very considerable town in Maryland: but Annapolis, situated on the banks of the Severn, is the seat of government in this province.

We left off our narrative of the rise and progress of the New-England provinces at the foundation of Boston, which forms a remarkable period in the North-American history; where Mr. Winthrop, succeeding to the government, much promoted the interests of the province. Yet a certain set of rioters being imprisoned, and this magistrate being accused of having violated the rights of the people, he descended from his seat, and vindicated himself to the satisfaction of all present.

The four provinces of New-England united themselves in a general confederacy, and turned their thoughts towards the conversion of the Indians; in which, for some time however, they made but little progress, though they made a convert of an Indian king. After this, the North-American colonists were engaged in a desperate war with Philip, king of the Womphanags; who, being

being a politic Indian, was not subdued till much blood had been shed upon the occasion.

The inhabitants of the New-England provinces were thus successful, and began to think themselves happy; till under the administration of Andros, in the reign of king James II. they thought they had abundant cause of complaint. From some misconduct of this governor, they asserted that he had attacked their liberties, infringed their charter, and had neglected to chastise, if not absolutely held a correspondence with, their French and Indian enemies. As soon as the New-England men heard of the revolution in England, they displaced this governor so obnoxious to their censures; and, by the charter which William granted, had reason to believe their liberties were secured to them.

Sir William Phipps, whom king James had offered to make sheriff of the county, succeeded to the government on the accession of king William. He was a man of mean original, who owed his fortune to accident; he was the son of a blacksmith born in America, and afterwards followed the trade of a ship-carpenter. With some difficulty he obtained a patent for fishing upon a Spanish wreck; where he fished up a great quantity of plate; and, by degrees, obtained the honour we have mentioned; which in the end he did not shew himself well capable of supporting.

During his administration happened an event which well deserves notice in the American history. The Quakers had long been the object of hatred to the people of New-England; who, from being persecuted in their mother-country, now became persecutors themselves.

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The Anabaptists and the Quakers, especially the latter, became the object of their bigoted rage. They enacted many penal laws against these people; among which the following were remarkable:

“ A Quaker (as all of that sect are to be banished) returning to New-England, is to have one of his ears cut off, and is to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction. For the second fault, he is to lose the other ear. If the offender should be a woman, she is to be whipped, and to be kept in the same manner. [What is still more terrible] Whether men or women, for the third offence, they are to have their tongues bored with a red hot iron; and then they are to be detained in the house of correction till they can be shipped off at their own charges.” This happened while Endicot was governor.

The Quakers, like all other sects, thriving under persecution, made a merit of their sufferings; and in their turn had an opportunity of triumphing over their intolerant brethren.

During the government of Sir William Phipps already mentioned, a strange fancy possessed the fancies of Boston, that numbers of them were under the power of witchcraft:—A person named Paris, the minister of Salem, having two daughters who were troubled with convulsions, concluded that they were bewitched; and seizing on a female servant of his own, caused her to be beaten till she acknowledged that she was concerned in this execrable deed; and was for a long time imprisoned upon the occasion. But now the flame began to spread; the ill health of some, and the malice of others, occasioned many to be accused. Mr. Burroughs,

Burroughs, formerly minister of Salem, was accused, and, together with two other gentlemen of irreproachable character, was executed on this occasion.

The tragedy thus begun, other victims were selected. "The flame (says my author) spread with "rage into every part of the country." A man refusing to plead to such inconsistent charges as were exhibited against him, was pressed to death.

Nor could the tenderness of youth, the infirmity of age, nor the sacred idea of their own ministry, nor the honour of the female sex, afford the least protection. Even children of eleven years of age were apprehended as witches and wizards: and women of all ages and degrees were stripped stark naked, to be searched for magical teats. If any one had a scorbutic stain upon him, it was the Devil's pinch; and consequently was considered as indisputable evidence. They also admitted stories of ghosts and visions, supposed to be delivered in sleep, to which they gave a name unknown in our law-books, that of Spectral Evidence.

Persons tortured under this extraordinary commission confessed extraordinary things, such as they had not and could not have been guilty of: one woman declared that she had lain with the Devil; a confession which was received with great satisfaction by the people. And now an universal consternation pervaded the colony. Some, hoping for mercy, charged themselves with witchcraft, in order to prevent the dreaded effects of a formal accusation. The prisons were crowded, and people were daily executed; yet the number of the witches, and of those bewitched, seemed continually to increase. A magistrate, who, had committed

mitted forty persons for this supposed crime, refusing to grant any more warrants upon such an account, was himself accused of sorcery; and was glad to escape with life out of the province. On the other hand, a woman being brought before a jury, who were struck with her solemn asseverations, and the rational proofs of her innocence, brought in their verdict, *Not guilty*; but the judge sent them out, and the people favouring the accuser, she was at last brought in *guilty*, sentenced to death, and executed accordingly. Sir William Phipps, whom a concurrence of lucky accidents, rather than his own merit, had raised to the honour of knighthood, and the station which he now occupied, was as busy as any one upon this occasion; though as governor, it was certainly his duty to use his utmost endeavours for checking the madness of the people. The two doctors, Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, who were respected as the apostles of the New-England church, also gave their countenances to these measures. Phipps received an address of thanks from the preachers for his cruelty and folly; and was earnestly petitioned to proceed in so laudable an undertaking. Thus encouraged, malice, bigotry, and prejudice, urged the accusers to proceed: they had already passed the bounds of reason, and there was no probability of ascertaining what point they would stop at. Judges and juries had been threatened, browbeaten, and suspected of sorcery. The governor's relations, and those of Mr. Increase Mather, were now charged with this supposed crime, and the mischief was carried to it's greatest excess.

The higher powers now first became sensible of their error; when it affected themselves, they gave things another turn, and resolved, though late,

to stop the prosecutions. In consequence of this determination, an hundred and fifty persons then in confinement, were released; and the charges against two hundred more that had been accused were passed over. Such as had received sentence of death were pardoned, and the whole of the proceedings ended; but not without giving occasion of exultation to the Quakers. These people, as we have seen, had been hardly used by the colonists; and, according to the nature of mankind, began to assert that this delusion was a judgment which heaven had prepared against their enemies. The saints of Boston now humbled themselves in the dust; and, willing to remove the charge from themselves to the evil principle, appointed a general fast; and prayed "That God would pardon the errors of his people, in a late tragedy occasioned by Satan and his instruments."

How much soever of the politics of the Puritans are still maintained among the colonists, their religious zeal has certainly declined since this extraordinary paroxysm: this remedy, "which squeezed from the very heart, was the best remedy for such as were tainted with it's poison." The evil brought it's cure with it; and, mad as the people in North-America may be for war, we have recent instances of their paying little regard to the Puritanical principles of their ancient religion.

Connecticut and Rhode-Island are two charter-governments, and, together with the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, are united in one common league, and styled, The Four New-England Provinces; of which Boston was generally reckoned the capital. This city is situated on a peninsula at the bottom of a fine harbour, and is to be entered only by one safe passage. There is a noble pier

pier 2000 feet in length; also a town-house and a commodious exchange; round which are a number of bookseller's shops. In the town are ten churches; and in 1779 was supposed to contain near 20,000 inhabitants.

In the year 1684, the charter of Massachusetts-Bay being subjected to a few warrants, as were many others of the American governments, in the reign of king James II. and judgment passing by default in the courts of justice, they were forfeited, while some appearing to submit to the king preserved their charters intire, merely by not entering into the contest. However, the governments of Massachusetts-Bay and of New-York obtained such charters as were in force at the commencement of the present American war.

On the 7th of October 1761, a charter was expedited to New-England; which, after reciting all former grants, continued in the following manner:

"Whereas, the governor and company of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England are become very populous and well settled, and whereas the former charter was vacated by a judgment in chancery in Trinity-term, in the year 1684, the agents of that colony have petitioned to be re-incorporated by a new charter. And also to the end that our colony of New-Plymouth may be brought under such a form of government, as may put them in a better condition of defence; we do therefore, by these presents, incorporate into one real province, by the name of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England; viz. the former colony of Massachusetts-Bay, the province of Main, the territory of Acadia or Nova-Scotia, and the tract lying between Nova-Scotia and the province of Main, the north half of the
isles

illes Shoals, the isles of Capawock and Nantucket, near Cape Cod, and all islands within ten leagues opposite to the main land within the said bounds, [saving the claims of particular persons, whose names are mentioned, confirming former grants]. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary, to be in the king's nomination. Twenty-eight counsellors, whereof seven at least shall make a board. A general court or assembly to be convened the last Wednesday in May yearly; consisting of the governor, council, and representatives of the towns or places, not exceeding two for one place. Qualification for an elector forty shillings freehold, or £ 50 personal estate. The general assembly to elect twenty-eight counsellors; eighteen of them from the old colony of Massachusetts-Bay, four from Plymouth colony, three from the province of Main, one for the territory of Sagadahock, and two at large. The governor, with consent of the council, to appoint the officers in the courts of justice. All born in the province, or in the passage to and from it, to be deemed natural born subjects of England. Liberty of conscience to all Christians except Papists. The general assembly to constitute judicatories for all causes, criminal or civil, capital or not capital. Probate of wills, and granting of administrations, to be in the governor and council. In personal actions, exceeding the value of £ 300 sterling, an appeal lies to the king and council, if such appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment; but execution is not to be stayed. The general assembly to make laws, if not repugnant to those of England; to appoint all civil officers, except the officers of the courts of justice; to impose taxes, to be disposed of by the governor and council. The
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conversion of the Indians to be endeavoured. The governor to have a negative in all acts and elections. All acts of assembly to be sent home by the first opportunity, to the king in council, for approbation; if not disallowed in three years after their being presented, to continue in force until repealed by the assembly. The general assembly may grant any lands in the Massachuset's-Bay and Plymouth colonies, and in the province of Main; but no grant of lands from Sagadahock river to St. Laurence's river shall be valid without the royal approbation. The governor to command the militia to use the law-martial in time of actual war; and to erect forts, and demolish the same at pleasure. No persons to be transported out of the province without their own consent, or that of the general assembly. The law-martial not to be executed without the consent of the council. When there is no governor, the lieutenant-governor is to act; when both are wanting, the majority of the council to have the power. The admiralty-jurisdiction is reserved to the king or lords of the admiralty. No subject of England to be debarred from fishing on the sea-coast, or salt-water creeks; and they may erect lodges and stages in any lands not in possession of particular proprietors. All trees fit for masts of twenty-four inches diameter and upwards, twelve inches from the ground growing upon land not heretofore granted to any private person, are reserved for the use of the king. The penalty for cutting any such reserved tree is £100 for each tree." Such was the charter of Massachuset's-Bay. The province of New-York had one, which was indeed perfectly exclusive; but, not being satisfied with this, they demanded and obtained a royal grant to the following purport:

"They

" They are to be incorporated by the name of mayor and aldermen of New-York. The city to be divided into seven wards. The corporation to consist of a mayor, a recorder, and seven aldermen, seven assistants, one sheriff, one coroner, one common clerk, one chamberlain or measurer, one high constable, seven assessors, seven collectors, sixteen constables, and one marshal. The governor yearly to appoint the mayor, sheriff, and coroner; and the freeholders and freemen in their respective wards to chuse the other officers, except the chamberlain, who is to be appointed in council by the mayor, four or more aldermen, and four or more assistants. The mayor to appoint the high constable. All the officers to take the proper oaths, and to continue in office till others have been chosen in their room. When any officer dies, the ward is to chuse one: upon refusal to serve in office, the common-council may impose a fine, not exceeding fifteen pounds, for the use of the corporation. The mayor, or recorder, and four or more aldermen, with four or more assistants, to be a common-council; to make by-laws to regulate the freemen; to lease lands and tenements, &c. and to do nothing inconsistent with the laws of Great-Britain, or of this province. Such laws and orders not to continue in force more than twelve months, unless confirmed by the governor and council. They may punish by disfranchising, or fines for the use of the corporation. The common-council shall decide in any controverted elections of officers. The common-council may be called by the mayor, or, in his absence, by the recorder; the fine of a member for non-attendance, not exceeding twenty shillings, for the use of the corporation. The corporation
may

may establish as many fines as they think fit; and may let the same. A market to be holden at five or more different places on every day except Sundays, to fix the affize of bread, wine, &c. The mayor, with four or more aldermen, may make freemen, the fees not to exceed five pounds. None but freemen shall retale goods, or exercise any trade, under the penalty of five pounds: aliens to be made free. The magistrates are to commit common vagabonds, to erect work-houses, prisons, and alms-houses. The mayor is to appoint the clerk of the market and the water-bailiff; to license carmen, porters, criers, and the like; also to grant licenses to tavern-keepers, and retailers of strong drink, for one year, not exceeding thirteen shillings per license: selling without license, five pounds current money, *toties quoties*. The mayor, deputy-mayor, recorder, and aldermen, for the time being, to be justices of the peace. The mayor, deputy-mayor, and recorder, or any of them, with three or more of the aldermen, shall hold quarter-sessions, not to sit more than four days. Moreover, the recorder and aldermen to be named in all commissions of oyer and terminer, and of gaol-delivery. The mayor, deputy-mayor, recorder, or any one of them, with three or more of the aldermen, may, and shall, hold every Tuesday a court of record, to try all divers cases, real, personal, or mixed, within the city and county; and the mayor's court may adjourn to any time, not exceeding twenty-eight days. The corporation to have a common clerk, who shall be also clerk of the court of record and sessions of the peace; to be appointed during his good behaviour by the governor. Eight attorneys in the beginning; but, as they drop, only
fix

fix to be allowed during their good behaviour, for the mayor's court; which court is to have the direction and cognizance of the attorneys; who, upon a vacancy, shall recommend one to the governor for his approbation. The mayor, recorder, or any alderman, may, with or without a jury, determine in cases not exceeding forty shillings. No freeman inhabitant shall be obliged to serve in offices out of the city. A grant and confirmation to all the inhabitants of their hereditaments, &c. paying the quit-rent reserved by their grants. The corporation may purchase and hold hereditaments, &c. so as the clear yearly value exceed not three thousand pounds sterling, and the same to be disposed of at pleasure. To pay a quit-rent of thirty shillings proclamation-money a year, besides the beaver-skin, and five shillings current money in former charters required. No action to be allowed against the corporation for any matter or cause whatsoever prior to this charter."

The French were not backward in pushing their interests in North-America. They had projected, and by degrees constructed, a chain of forts, which at once over-awed the Indians, and confined the English colonists. Some of these forts were erected at all hazards; some in their own territories, but more by the deceptions which they practised upon the simple natives. Sir William Phipps opposed them, and even besieged Quebec; but his measures were so ill taken, that the attempt was intirely defeated.

C H A P. III.

New-York—New-Jersey—Canada—Disputes of the French and English—Capture of the Alcide and Lys—Rupture between the two Nations.

THOUGH different nations had settled on the continent of North-America, yet the interest of the English generally rose superior to that of any other colonizing people in Europe.

The Dutch, indeed, had made a settlement at New-York, and they promised themselves much from this settlement; but they were dispossessed by the English in the year 1664, and submitted to the English government.

New-York, which the Hollanders called New-Amsterdam, seems to be an island, but is connected with the continent, by that important post called Kingsbridge: it has, besides, many dependencies, among which the city of Albany, Long-Island, and Staten-Island, are to be considered. This soon became a flourishing colony, and what is called a crown government.

The city of New-York is well situated for trade, and, before the present troubles, was supposed to contain about two thousand houses, the inhabitants of the province amounting to near 100,000 persons. Hudson's river, on which it is situate, is navigable for upwards of 150 miles. It was formerly called New-Amsterdam, but derived it's former name by it's having been granted to James, Duke of York, by his brother King Charles the second. Albany lies in the northern part of this province, about 150 miles from

from York-Island. The soil of New-York is extremely fertile; its trade consists in wheat, skins, furs, oil of whales and sea-calves, iron, and copper. It is mostly carried on by water, on account of the convenience of Hudson's river, which is navigable as far as Albany.

New-Jersey comes next under our consideration; Perth-Amboy is the principal town of East-Jersey; Bridlington is the provincial town of West-Jersey; Elizabeth-Town, however, is the most ancient of all in the province. The inhabitants of New-Jersey carried on a great trade in corn, flax, and hemp, and had once become a flourishing colony before the present troubles commenced. This province, though first settled by the Swedes, was afterwards planted by the Dutch, and consequently under the same government as New-York, and with that province also reverted to the English; it was divided into East and West-Jersey. This government was long divided by factions, at the same time that king James's ill-conduct had thrown all things into confusion at home; but, at the revolution, the affairs of this colony began to wear a more promising aspect.

New-Jersey is bounded on the south-east by Delaware-Bay, and on the south and the west by that river; on the north by New-York, and unknown counties; and on the east by the Atlantic ocean. It lies between $35^{\circ} 41'$ and $39^{\circ} 10'$ of north latitude. Its length is about 140 miles, its greatest breadth about 80. West-Jersey was intended, by Dr. Cox, to have been laid out in seven counties. It has a communication by means of the river *Æsopus* with New-York; with Maryland by another river, which comes

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within

within four miles of Chesapeak-Bay. It's provincial town is Bridlington. There were five corporations, with courts, in the province of New-Jersey; but only Perth-Amboy, and Bridlington, sent representatives to the general-assembly.

It may be proper to observe here, that the road from New-York to Philadelphia passes through the Jerseys; is from New-York to Elizabeth-Town, 17 miles; from thence to Trent-Town (or Trenton) 30 miles; crossing the river, you proceed to Philadelphia, the distance of which city from New-York is computed to be 104 miles.

Having thus described New-England and it's dependencies, as well as the southern colonies, the principal seat of the American war, we shall now come to speak of Canada, formerly in possession of the French, but ceded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, in the year 1763.

This extensive country was doubtless first discovered by Cabot, already mentioned, in behalf of the English; but being neglected by them, the French afterwards settled in it: so early as the year 1508, one Aubert, of Dieppe, had made a voyage to Canada, and had brought over some of the natives from thence to his own country.

An expedition to this part of America was undertaken in the reign of Francis I. under the conduct of one Verazani, a Florentine, who, however, returned to France without having effected any thing. He undertook a second voyage, but met with a terrible tempest in the course of it; and embarking on a third, was never heard of more. However, a settlement was made in Canada

mada during the reign of the monarch above-mentioned, whose valour, wars, and captivity, are sufficiently recorded in European history.

The new established colony at first met with amazing difficulties, occasioned by internal disputes and differences with the surrounding Indians.

But in Henry the IVth's time, the marquis de la Roche obtained a patent for colonizing Canada and all Acadia, what is called Newfoundland included. He was far from being successful, having made attempts to settle colonies where they were not likely to succeed. Chauvin next obtained the patent, and he put himself under the direction of one Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo's, who, in the character of a private adventurer, had made several voyages to the continent of North-America. De Chatte succeeded to Chauvin; and, at this time, a squadron was equipped, commanded by M. Pontgravé, above mentioned, who had full power to extend his discoveries up the river St. Laurence. It was in the year 1603 that the commodore set sail, having in his company the famous Champlain, afterwards the founder of Quebec. They proceeded as far as the Falls of St. Louis, and then returned to France.

After De Chatte, De Monts succeeded; but, like his predecessors, made many unavailing attempts respecting the settlements he wished to establish. In the mean time, Champlain, who had more extensive views, after examining Canada, and all that part of America then called Acadia, chose at last to fix a colony at Quebec. Finding the soil favourable for the culture of corn, he left a number of his countrymen be-

hind him, and returned to France; but in the year 1610, he again visited his colony, and found it in a prosperous situation. A war, however, raged between the Iroquois and the Algonquins and Hurons; in the course of which, the two latter nations were likely (as is often the case in these savage conflicts) to be totally extirpated.—Champlain joining with the weaker party, made the English his enemies; and from this circumstance chiefly arose the bloody disputes so long carried on between the two nations in that quarter of the world.

Champlain, at first, with his allies, gained a great victory over the Iroquois, himself killing two of their chiefs, and wounding a third with his own hand. The victors afterwards intending to torture a captive, according to the savage customs, the French commander prevented them; but all the favour he could obtain for the wretch was, that he himself should be permitted to shoot him, after which his dead body was torn and mangled to pieces by the Indians.

The English and the natives alike obstructed Champlain's views, and he was obliged to surrender Quebec, which he had the glory of founding, to the former, who, however, restored it with all Acadia to the French, by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year 1632.

The Jesuits had, by this time, formed missions to Canada, and the Ursuline nuns had established themselves at Quebec. The sufferings of the fathers, who preached the gospel in those remote parts, and the charity of the sisters, may well deserve the praise and admiration of persons of all religions. Father Hennepin and father Le Moyne were deservedly respected by all the French in North-

North-America. In the year 1659, a French bishop was sent to reside in Canada; which, at that time, was visited by most extraordinary appearances of fiery meteors, tempests, earthquakes, such as never before had been seen or felt, threatening to overturn that part of the new world. Philosophers ascribed these matters to natural causes; but the religious took occasion to preach to the inhabitants lessons of piety and morality; and these were not without their effect. The ideas of a particular providence and judgment, which they inculcated, though apparently contrary to reason, were really serviceable, as they persuaded many to turn from their evil ways; and thus promoted the good of the community upon this occasion.

To Champlain succeeded many governors, who still found the colony embroiled. At length count Frontenac took upon him the government of Quebec, and promised to retrieve the affairs of France in Canada.

But this chief was of a haughty and suspicious temper, and, according to the New-England historians, aimed at the utter extinction of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay and its dependencies. But these were views which he could not accomplish; the Iroquois, who were of the English party, were perpetually at war with the Hurons, Algonquins, and Outawas, while the Agniers and Onondagans were often neuter, sometimes espousing one party, and sometimes the other; while the count was desperately, though perhaps not very judiciously, oppressed by Dungan, then governor of New-England, who dispossessed the French of their settlement at Hudson's-Bay.

Yet, at this time, Garakonthie, an Indian chief, who became a convert to the Catholic religion, prevailed on the neighbouring savages to break off some treaties which they had begun with the people of New-York. A fort was built at Niagara, and the Tsaononthouans, enemies to the Canadian interest, were every where dispersed or defeated.

The expedition afterwards undertaken by Phipps against Quebec, of which we have already given the reader some idea, at first greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Canada. Sir William having reduced some inferior places, resolved that his forces should appear before this capital. The following is an account of the event of this ill-concerted expedition :

“ The English fleet, consisting of 34 sail, and having 3000 land forces on board, coming to an anchor about ten in the morning, the commander sent a long-boat ashore with a trumpet, having been informed that the garrison was not capable of making any resistance; and he was even so confident of success, that he scrupled not to assert, he should that night sleep in the governor of Quebec's palace.”

When Frontenac heard of the embassy, he sent a Frenchman to meet the trumpet, who, first blindfolding him, led him round the fortifications, where his ears convinced him, even without the use of his eyes, that the French were well provided. After this, being brought to the great hall, he there saw a numerous and respectable assembly, headed by the governor, and trembled when he delivered the summons, which was couched in terms which raised such indignation among the French, that they cried out,

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"The person who had addressed them ought to be treated as a pirate, and a rebel against his own sovereign," (king James II. who had, before this time, abdicated the throne). Frontenac said, "He would answer the summons by his cannon;" and caused the trumpet to be conducted back to the shore in safety, but prepared for his defence with coolness and intrepidity.

The boats, sent by the English, made good their landing, but lost 150 men, and retreated before an inconsiderable number of French and Canadians.

The place was afterwards cannonaded; but the fire from the batteries of Quebec proved too hot for the assailants, who drew off, the soldiers being impatient for a close engagement. Being therefore drawn out in battle array, they marched towards the town, and were met by M. S. Helene, a Canadian, who repulsed them, but was mortally wounded in the fight; while Frontenac, coming up with a fresh reinforcement, obtained the honour of the victory.

Yet the besiegers were unwilling to give over their enterprize: having received some pieces of ordnance from the fleet, they renewed their attempt, and, endeavouring to make a breach, laid several ambuscades, into which some of the enemy fell; nevertheless, the latter having found means to unite all their parties, fell upon the English with such fury, that, after a short resistance, they were obliged to retire, leaving their artillery and ammunition behind them. At the same time, a body of provincial troops, being sent to besiege Montreal, together with some savages, the small-pox breaking out among the

colonists, communicated itself to the Indians, among whom it generally proves fatal; and this distemper, by the dreadful havock which it now made, intirely defeated the intended expedition.

The tidings of this disaster, joined to the misfortunes which have been here related, occasioned Sir William to relinquish the object of his expedition. He raised the siege of Quebec (if it might be called a siege) in the most shameful manner, and retreated with precipitation, having lost numbers of men, and nine ships, in this inauspicious undertaking.

The city and province were thus delivered from the evils which immediately threatened them; but the Indian war still continued with the usual cruelties on all sides, and Canada was invaded by the savages. Another expedition against Montreal was projected by the English, but meeting with several disappointments, they were obliged to abandon the thoughts of it for the present: yet he still continued his designs, encouraged the Indians, fitted out their armaments, and though by no means equal to the enterprizes he undertook, kept New-France, which was then but in a weak condition, in perpetual alarm. The count, however, rebuilt fort Coturaway, which had been ruined in the course of the war; and after Phipps's death, continued his hostilities against the Iroquois: but these were a people not to be thoroughly vanquished without being intirely extirpated. He had a just sense of the interest of the colonists; but he was not always permitted to proceed as he thought proper, and when he dared to transgress his orders, he was generally right. His opinion, delivered under a

critical

critical situation, may serve as a specimen of his political knowledge.

"I was pressed (said he) to attack Onondago with all our troops, our inhabitants, and allies; but I did not think it was proper. In the first place, I really thought I had not a force sufficient; and had I followed this counsel, I should have left this province open to the English inroads; while the undertaking, which was merely ridiculous, would only have ended in the burning a few huts, as the savages, if they were not assisted by the English, would certainly have escaped into the woods. We have had experience from expeditions against the Isonnonthonans, that the burning of one or two villages cannot secure us from incursions. The only way to humble the Indians, is, by continuing to alarm and harrafs them with small parties, so that they dare not stir abroad, which we shall be enabled to do by the establishment of fort Frontenac (Caracouy). If the king shall think proper to make an attack upon Pemaquid next year, it will give great encouragement to our friendly Indians. It is even to be wished that the expedition might be extended to the bombardment of Boston and New-York, which I think not at all impracticable, and which, by one blow, would finish the war in that country."

Such being the views of Frontenac, he wanted not spirit to prosecute them; but the remissness of the French court, his own haughtiness, and the refractory disposition of the Indians, prevented him from subduing the whole North-American empire.

A plan indeed was laid to drive the English out of Newfoundland, as also to attack Boston, as Frontenac had mentioned; and to destroy all the

British settlements from thence to Piscataqua. The governor was empowered to substitute Vaudreuil in his place, and the latter in this case was to be subject to Nesmond, who had the command of ten ships assigned him; but if Frontenac commanded in person, he was to be independent.

It was towards the latter end of July that Nesmond arrived at Placentia; a council of war being then called to determine, Whether it was proper to attack Boston? the question was carried in the negative. St. John's was then attacked; but the enemy missed of taking thirty-four ships there, which they thought of surprising; and returned disappointed to their own country. St. John's was afterwards taken; but the conquest proved of little consequence to the captors.

Thus the war proceeded in America with various success, till Frontenac was succeeded by Callieres, who still kept up the animosity with the English and the Iroquois, who were not at all backward in harrassing and distressing the French colonists; who, politic and insinuating as they were, yet were not capable either of extirpating these savages, or bringing them over to their interests; neither could they always manage their own Indian allies, who had by this time united the European vices (especially that of drunkenness) with their own barbarous manners; and thus formed the most monstrous compound that ever existed in human nature! Fickle in their tempers, their friends could seldom depend upon them; and the cruel manner in which both parties carried on their wars was of such a nature, as seemed to indicate, that they rather sought the total extirpation of their enemies, than the acquisition of any advantages that might be reaped from

from victory. They massacred individuals when they could surprise them; they burned and destroyed whole districts, and generally put their prisoners of war to death by the most cruel tortures. As a specimen at once of their barbarity and caprice, we shall present our readers with the following narration, extracted from undoubted authority:

"A certain Iroquois chief being taken prisoner, it was decreed by an assembly of the ancient Hurons, before whom he was brought, that he should be presented to one of their chiefs, to replace the nephew of the latter, who had been killed in war (a whimsical custom of theirs), or to be otherwise disposed of as he shall think proper. This being determined, he was crowned with a sort of diadem, and surrounded by a troop of warriors. At this time, one Brebœuf, a Jesuit, undertook to make a proselyte of him; he succeeded, and the new convert was christened by the name of Joseph. Thus far all went well; the captive was honourably treated, and had a Huron woman assigned him for a wife.

"But while he remained with Brebœuf, it was perceived, that, previous to the determination of the Sachems or elders, he had been tortured. One of his hands had been crushed between two flints, and was deprived of a finger; his other hand had lost two by the stroke of a hatchet; the joints of his arms had likewise been burnt, and a great gash appeared on one of them; those pores became putrid and full of worms, which much increased his misery: yet in this situation, he was carried from village to village, and was often obliged to sing till his voice entirely failed him. At last, being brought before his supposed uncle, the

Huron thus addressed him: "You cannot conceive, nephew, the joy I felt when I understood that you were to supply the place of him whom I have lost. I had already prepared a mat for you in my own cabin, and had, with the utmost satisfaction, resolved to pass the remainder of my days with you in peace; but the condition which I see you are in forces me to alter my resolution. It is plain, that the tortures you suffer must render your life unsupportable to yourself, and you must think that I do you a service in shortening it: but they who have thus mangled you have caused your death. Take courage, therefore, my dear nephew; prepare yourself this evening to shew that you are a man, and that you are superior to the force of torments." The Iroquois chief heard this discourse with indifference; and only answered that it was very well. The sister of the deceased then brought him victuals, and most affectionately caressed him; while the Huron, who was to have adopted him for a nephew, put his own pipe in his mouth, and wiped the sweat from his brow, with all the tenderness of parental love. The farewell-feast was made by the captive about noon, at the expence of his supposed uncle; then he addressed the assembled guests to this purpose: "Brethren, I am about to die; divert yourselves boldly round me. Be convinced that I am a man, and neither fear death nor any torments that you can inflict." He then sung a song; and when the feast was over, he was conveyed to the cabin of heads, or place of execution: then the young men who were to be actors in this tragedy, were exhorted by the elders to behave well; meaning to put their victim to the most excruciating torture. The prisoners being seated on a mat, at first arose from it,

it, danced, and sang his death song; after which he replaced himself on the mat, his hands being tied behind him. One of the elders then took off his robe, naming the chief who was to have it; at the same time observing, that the people of such a village was to cut off his head, which, together with an arm, was to be given to another village; all which he heard calmly, attending to the Christian exhortations of father Brebœuf, and talking of the affairs of the country as if he had been perfectly at ease, though eleven fires were lighted to torment him. It was declared necessary that his tortures should last till sun-rise; and then, lest he should expire without a stroke inflicted by iron, he had a foot and a hand, as well as his head, cut off, and his body was thrown into a cauldron."

Yet with savages like these have some of the Europeans lived by choice. We have accounts of some Englishmen who fled to the Iroquois; and many French captives, being adopted or naturalized by the North-American natives, refused to leave them, though pressed with the most earnest solicitations. This, however, only serves to prove the depravity of taste, and even of nature, in certain individuals: for though it is allowed that refinement has it's vices and inconveniences, yet the former are generally more monstrous, and the latter harder to be endured, in a state of savage nature; for though we might be content with the life of a rustic, such as we see it in Europe, yet is it a small matter for a man to be exposed every day to war, disease, and famine; either to have no habitations, or none that are secure; not to know, if the hunting-season should fail, where to get a subsistence; and to have no assurance of safety for those that are most dear to us?

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If these things are of any consequence, then sense and reason must recoil at the very thought of leading a life like that of the natives of North-America, whose conversion to Christianity did not divest them of their brutal and savage ferocity. The Jesuits, who seemed most assiduous in the work, attended more to the ceremonial than the moral law. Even the English pastors dealt in mysteries more than in morals; and they succeeded accordingly.

But, to return to our history.—Though before this time the peace of Ryswick had been concluded, hostilities had scarcely ceased in America; it was no wonder therefore if they rekindled with fresh ardour when war was renewed in Europe. The Indian nations in Frontenac's time had made a sort of general submission to king William III. and, in the year 1710, five of the chiefs of the friendly Indians were sent over to England; where they addressed queen Anne (whose ministry had planned the conquest of Quebec) in the following manner:

“ GREAT QUEEN,

“ WE have accomplished a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed upon to undertake, in order to see our great queen, and to relate to her those things which we thought for her good, and for the good of us her allies on the other side of the great water. We doubt not but that our great queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French; and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even with the
loss

loss of our best men. We were greatly rejoiced when we heard that our great queen designed to reduce Canada; and immediately, in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and with one consent assisted colonel Nicholson in making preparations on this side the lake: but, at length, we were told that our queen was prevented, by some important affairs, from engaging in that design at present, which made us sorrowful; apprehending that the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, might now think us unable to make war upon them. The reduction of Canada is of great consequence to our free hunting; so if our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must with our families forsake the country, or stand neuter; either of which will be against our inclinations. In token of the sincerity of these nations, we do, in their names, present our great queen with these belts of Wampum; and, in hopes of our great queen's favour, leave it to her most gracious consideration."

It has been thought proper to insert this speech at full length, both in order to give the reader an idea of the Indian manner of addressing an European sovereign, and because it might be supposed to lead to that expedition against Canada, of which we are about to speak.

As the first intended expedition had given cause of disgust both at home and on the other side of the Atlantic, every body expected that this succeeding one would have been planned and executed with such wisdom and valour, as that there could remain little fear of a miscarriage; especially as it was supposed that matters

had

had been previously concerted, both in England and America.

A very respectable armament set sail from Plymouth in May, and arrived at Boston on the 4th of June 1711. But it appeared that the design had been kept so much a secret, that the New-England men in these parts were by no means prepared to receive them; nay, they at first supposed the fleet to belong to the enemy. In consequence of this, provisions were not in readiness; and therefore the men were landed on Noddle-Island, near Boston, till these could be procured, and a force, which they demanded, raised to join them: a delay which certainly was very detrimental to the expedition.

However, on the 20th of July, the fleet sailed again, having taken on board two regiments of New-York and New-England men. The whole naval force consisted of twelve men of war and six store-ships, besides fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, and transports; and provided with a fine train of artillery.

Arriving at Gaspe-Bay, in their way to Quebec, as the wind blew hard from the north-west, they anchored, fearing that the transports should be driven to leeward. Having burned a French fishing-vessel here, they held on their course; but the succeeding days proving foggy, and the wind shifting to the north-east, the fleet was soon perceived to be in danger. The vessels were then brought to, with their heads to the southward; but, notwithstanding this precaution, they lost eight transports, which had about 900 soldiers and seamen on board; and it was with difficulty that the men of war escaped destruction. After hovering some days upon the coast, two councils of

war

war being called, it was at length determined, as supplies were likely to fail them, to return home: and accordingly they set sail for England, nothing having been effected; and they arrived in the month of October.

Some violent Whigs in a succeeding reign were, or pretended to be, of opinion, that there was a double design in this expedition, and that the ministry really never intended that it should succeed; and they even made it one of the articles of impeachment against the earl of Oxford; yet all sensible persons thought otherwise; and Sir Horenden Walker, who commanded, gave evident proofs that he was not privy to any such intentions. He used to say that it was indeed unfortunate, but that it would have been much more so if the fleet had advanced up the river St. Lawrence, according to their destination, "Our men's provisions would then (said he) have failed us, and been reduced to eight or nine, perhaps to six weeks' allowance; no relief could possibly have been expected in less than ten months: the *Feverham*, and three other store-ships, laden with the provisions designed for their supply, being cast away in the passage; so that if we had escaped shipwreck (which would have been a very great chance), near twelve thousand men must have perished with hunger, and the ships would have become the prey of the returning enemy. On the other hand, had our adversaries held out till we had expended all our provisions, we must have laid down our arms, and have surrendered at discretion, to avoid death in it's most frightful shape—that of famine: or even if they had taken the place either by storm or capitulation, the remaining provisions of a small garrison

garrison would not have gone far towards subsisting so large a number; nor could they at that season of the year have marched through the country in search of more; and the case would have been similar, had they afterwards attempted Placentia." The governor also apologized for the colonists, in a speech which had some propriety in it; as there was no ground to charge the Americans with the failure of this expedition, who believed the government to be in earnest, as they themselves were through the whole of the undertaking; which, partly from mismanagement, and partly from accidents which no human foresight could be armed against, had thus unexpectedly miscarried.

Port-Royal had however been taken from the French, and the name of it changed to Annapolis-Royal, in compliment to the queen of England.

In the year 1712, the merchants of Quebec raised no less a sum of money than 50,000 crowns, to be applied towards completing the fortifications of that capital. The Iroquois, perceiving the miscarriages of the English, now made their submission to the French. But the Outagam having erected a fort near that of the French, called Detroit, being attacked, most resolutely defended it; but were at last obliged to quit it in the night: they were afterwards pursued; and the intrenchments they had made being forced by the enemy, they were obliged to surrender at discretion to the arms of Du Buissou, who commanded at Detroit.

The English at this time observing the Abenagais spread themselves over the province of New-England, used all possible means to bring them over; but they failed in this on account of their attachment to the missionary that had been sent

sent among them. They were, however, permitted to proceed and erect store-houses; and a free-school was erected for instructing their youth. But after all this, the settlers told these savages, that, by the late treaty of Utrecht, their whole country had been ceded to England. The latter complained to Vaudreuil, who, affecting to treat them as independent, told them that no mention had been made either of them or their lands, in the treaty in question. In the mean time, Rasse, the French Jesuit, was particularly busy in stirring up his proselytes among the Abenaguais against the English, who demanded that he might be sent back to France; but this was refused: they then endeavoured to seize his person, but failed in the attempt. This so far encouraged the Abenaguais, that they sent deputies to several other Indian nations to meet them at Narrantsonak, and immediately after began to demolish the nearest settlements of the English. But the latter, in return, broke into Narrantsonak, shot the French missionary, burned all the cabins, and plundered the church, as well as all the inhabitants of that district, who durst oppose them; most of the Indians fled, and thus peace was once more restored to the settlers.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the Outagamis, these people joining with the Siorx, had again the courage to break with the French, which so exasperated Vaudreuil, that he threatened totally to extirpate them, and seemed resolved, at least, to drive them out of Canada. These savages being much alarmed at hearing this, sheltered themselves, to the number of 3000, men and women, in a pallisaded fortification, which Louvigny, who had been sent against them, formally attacked,

tacked, bringing up two field-pieces and a mortar. After some messages having passed between the parties, the Outagamis offered to capitulate, just as the French commander was about to spring a mine; their proposals were rejected: but others, more favourable to their besiegers, being produced and agreed to, a treaty was concluded, and the Indians bound themselves to send six hostages to Montreal, for the performance of the stipulated articles. It is said, that this treaty being ingrossed, contained an entire surrender of this country to the French government, a circumstance of which it is probable the unlettered savages were ignorant.

Three of the hostages died of the small-pox; as also Pemoussa, the chief of the Outagamis, before the treaty was ratified at Montreal. To bring about this event, Louvigny travelled over the ice with one of the surviving hostages, who bearing testimony of the good usage which he and the rest had received, the Outagamis gave many tokens of gratitude; but said, they could not wait on their father Ononthio (so they called the French governor) till the next year, when they certainly would come, and in the mean time had resolved upon a peace, which was to continue as long as the sun and moon should endure. But the hostage being suffered to return to his people, in order, as he said, to remind them of their promise; he was never heard of more, and no deputation from the Indians ever arrived. These afterwards, as an apology for their breach of treaty, declared it was their opinion, that an enemy, who was provoked beyond a certain degree, could never be made a friend again. They were afterwards defeated in
several

several encounters; yet they succeeded in forcing the Illinois to abandon their settlements on the river, where they themselves afterwards formed a plantation.

Vaudreuil dying in 1745, his death proved a great loss to the French colony. In the year 1746, the incroachments made upon the British settlements occasioned the king of England to require all his subjects, in those parts, to establish magazines, and also to raise forces, which were to be joined by a powerful armament from the mother-country, in order to reduce Canada, that favourite object which had twice before miscarried, as has been already noticed. As the yellow fever was then rife at Albany, the place of rendezvous was fixed at Saratoga, since so famous for the convention of general Burgoyne. For this service Massachusetts-Bay raised 20 companies, Connecticut 10, Rhode-Island three, and New-Hampshire two, which force being united, was to attack the capital of Canada, under the command of general Sinclair, while brigadier-general Gooch, the governor of Virginia, who commanded the bodies raised by New-York and the southern-colonies, was to proceed against Montreal. Admiral Leslie was likewise to command the fleet, and the expectations of the public were raised to the highest pitch, but were too soon frustrated; the whole of the mighty preparations ending in an unsuccessful attempt upon Port L'Orient, on the coast of France.

The Canadians having received intelligence of the designs of the English, M. Ramezay, came to Minas at the head of 1600 men. This body was intended to act in concert with an armament then fitting out at Brest, under the conduct of

of the duke of D'Anville, who commanded eleven ships of the line, some frigates, transports, fire-ships, &c. He was ordered to attack and dismantle Cape-Breton, which the English had by this time taken. He was then to proceed to Annapolis in Acadia; and these projects being effected, he was to destroy Boston; and after ranging along the coasts of America, he was to pay a visit to the British islands in the West-Indies. After detaching three large ships and a frigate to Hispaniola, with the trade under his convoy, he arrived at Chebucto in Nova-Scotia, his squadron having, in their course, been much damaged by a violent tempest. Here this commander died. In the mean time, Ramezay laid siege to Annapolis, as had been concerted; but the Chester man of war, a frigate, and a schooner, belonging to the English, lying in the harbour, and the French fleet having gone off, perhaps, because they knew that admiral Townshend was then lying with a British fleet in the harbour of Louisbourg, though he had not offered to molest them, Ramezay, who had encamped near Annapolis, returned to Minas; he designed to winter in the last mentioned place, in order to be ready to join the fleet expected from Old France. The English colonists, in the mean time, sent reinforcements to the garrison; but these encamping in a loose manner, were mostly slain by the French, and the rest surrendered on terms of capitulation.

While these things were passing in America, the Brest and Rochfort squadrons formed a junction at Rochelle. They were intended for Canada and for the West-Indies: thus both the eastern and western empire of Britain were at once threatened.

threatened. A circumstance so alarming, occasioned the ministry to exert themselves; and Anson, the famous circumnavigator, together with Warren, were sent out with a powerful fleet to oppose them.

Departing from Plymouth, and steering through the Bay of Biscay towards Cape Finisterre, in the month of May, they encountered the enemy, who immediately formed a line of battle, their larger ships covering the smaller, and the transports thereby meaning to escape; which Warren perceiving, advised Anson to hang out the signal for a general chase. A conflict ensued, in which, at last, the English proving victorious, the French retreated, having lost six of their men of war and all their India ships. When Ramezay heard of this defeat, he abandoned all thoughts of attacking any part of Nova-Scotia, and returned much dejected to Canada. The French, however, had, by this time, erected the fortress of Crown-Point, in the province of New-York, which afterwards proved another source of contest between the two nations.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which gave peace to Europe, was not, however, sufficiently regarded, either by the French or the English, to prevent frequent bickerings between them in the western world. In Nova-Scotia especially, and at the back of the New-York settlements, France was perpetually stirring up the savage nations against her rival; whose growing power she could by no means endure. The Canadian government projected to build such a chain of forts as might at once overawe the Indians, and give them an opportunity of making irruptions into the English settlements. The same was done in Virginia;
where

where major Washington (now the American general) was sent to remonstrate with the French, but to no purpose. Thus every western wind waisted fresh complaints to England. The claims of each nation were disputed at Paris; but, in the mean time, the French proceeded on the other side of the Atlantic. A fleet sailed from Brest; another was ordered to sail from England to watch the former: both steered for America. Boscawen, with the British force, consisting of twelve ships, arrived off Cape Rae. M. Bois de la Mothe came thither soon after. The English admiral, who was superior to the French, could not discern their Squadron, on account of a thick fog which had arisen; but the Alcide and the Lys, being separated from the rest, were taken by the captains Howe and Andrews: in return for which, the French commenced hostilities in Europe; and thus a new war began between the two nations.



C H A P. IV.

Reflections on the Causes of Enmity between the French and English Colonists—Temper of the neighbouring Indians—State of Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia—A concise Description of the West-India Islands—First Campaign in North-America.

IT has been already observed, that as the Spaniards had found mines of gold and silver in the western world, so the other European nations set out upon the same principle, but were generally disappointed.

Among all these later discoverers, the English and French were the most powerful: and, becoming neighbours here, were no sooner settled than they also became enemies; though some of their earliest contests were carried on for tracts of land, which were originally little better than barren; and though there was an extent of ground lying round them to be cultivated, or bought of the Indians, sufficient for them, and perhaps for all the commercial powers of Europe, that were disposed to send colonies to those remote regions. But the natives of France and England, having been rivals at home, carried abroad with them their inimical dispositions; and their boundaries being seldom agreed on between the colonists in America, or properly settled by Europeans, it was not wonderful that either party should be perpetually reproaching the other with incroachments: the consequence of which was, that however

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be disposed, a lasting peace could hardly subsist in that quarter of the world.

We have seen that, from the first settlement of the English, the French always viewed them with a jealous eye. They insinuated themselves into the favour of the savages; they laid claims to lands which belonged not to them; and confirmed, notwithstanding various treaties of peace, to build forts upon these lands; which so hemmed in some of our establishments, that they complained their enemies had drawn such lines round them, that in fact they held them besieged, and were intent upon reducing them in the end to subjection, or driving them into the vast Atlantic ocean.

We will not pretend to say, that there might not be some exaggeration in these accounts; however, it is certain that the French were ready to take all advantages; and it is as certain, that the remonstrances of our colonists gave rise to that war which was commenced by the capture of the Alcide and the Lys, as before related; the various success of which we shall here recite, in a manner as concise and intelligible as possible; according to the plan we have laid down to ourselves, and which we mean steadily to adhere to.

But, before we proceed with this narration, it may not be improper to give the reader some idea of the state of America and it's islands, at the time when this war broke out; as this must naturally have a connection with that chain of consequences which produced the reduction of Canada, and the expulsion of the French from the vast tract of land which they possessed on the continent of North-America.

Of

Of New-England enough has been said, to shew it's condition at this time; the history of Canada was involved in the narration; but we shall now speak something farther of the other colonies.

Virginia was the ancient name for all the continent of North-America, as discovered in Elizabeth's reign; but that province which is now so called, together with the two Carolinas and Maryland, was termed South-Virginia. It's present boundaries are, the river Potomac upon the north, the bay of Chesapeak upon the east, Carolina upon the south, and it extends westward as far as the Pacific ocean. But, as our plantations extend only to the Allegary mountains, this district may be reckoned in length 240 miles, in breadth about 200. Tobacco is it's staple commodity.

From the time of Sir George Yardley's settling here, the colony, notwithstanding various interruptions and factions among themselves, became populous, and well worthy of the attention of successive monarchs. This province for some time held out against Cromwell, but was reduced. After the Revolution, the Virginians met with great encouragement from England; though it was thought a little extraordinary, as it was a royal government, that king William should appoint Sir Edmund Andros, who had been deposed in Boston after James's abdication, for their governor. Nevertheless he here proved himself a worthy magistrate. Williamsburg was built during this reign; and, out of a silly concerted compliment, laid out in the form of a W; since that time James-Town began to be neglected, and is now but an unimportant village. The French and

Indians continued from time to time to harass this province, till the war, in 1755, broke out between France and England; at which time Virginia might be called a flourishing colony.

The Carolinas, which had long been deserted by the first English settlers, by it's soil and climate, at last attracting the notice of government, were protected, and grew into importance. South-Carolina (the key of which is Charles-Town), most commodiously situated, though with a barred harbour, yields scarcely to any province in America for fertility. North-Carolina, whose chief harbour is Port-Royal, though not so wealthy as the former, is yet desirably situated. There are ten navigable rivers in the Carolinas; Indigo is their staple commodity. The inhabitants were in a situation to excite the envy of their enemies, when hostilities began between the two nations.

Georgia, in regard to it's situation and produce, in many respects resembles the Carolinas; in whose neighbourhood it is situated. It was chiefly intended as a barrier to our settlements, against the incursions of the southern Indians; and, for this purpose, a tract of land in those parts was vested in trustees, in June 1732, for twenty-one years; at the expiration of which term the property was to return to the crown. This district extends, from north to south, 60 miles, near the sea; but widens to above 150 in the inland parts. It is near 100 leagues from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The first town built by the settlers was called Savannah, after the name of the river upon which it was founded. The new colonists received much assistance from the Carolinians, as also many good offices from an Indian chief, called Tombo Chicki, chief of
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the people called Yamacraws. The lower creek nation also sent a deputation of Sachems and warriors, in order to treat with the Georgians, ceding certain lands (which, however, they asserted as their property) to the English; thanking them for their kindness to Tombo Chicki, and confirming the league in the most solemn form, according to the American manner.

This friendly Indian chief, together with his wife, his son, and five warriors, were brought over to England, and presented to queen Anne; to whom he made a solemn speech, in presence of a number of English noblemen. Many regulations were made relative to the trade with the Indians, while this chief resided in England; who returned in peace to his own country, with a high idea of the splendour and liberality of our nation.

The infant colony was soon afterwards threatened with an invasion from the Spanish colony of St. Augustine; besides, certain quit-rents, and other circumstances, rendered it not so eligible a situation as the Carolinas: in consequence of which, the government wisely annulled all the particulars of the charter in which Georgia differed from those provinces; and, from that time, this province assumed fresh strength and vigour.

Pentylvania and Maryland, of which we have already treated, had continued increasing in population, from their first planting till the time of the rupture in 1759; and were enabled to give assistance to their fellow-subjects on the western continent in the course of the war; though the Quakers would by no means take up arms against the common enemy.

It now remains to mention such of those islands, which are generally called American or West-

Indian, as have fallen under the British government, and for a series of years together contributed to furnish many necessaries of life to the colonists, and several articles of luxury to the mother country.

JAMAICA, one of the Great Antilles, is the principal of these. The famous Christopher Columbus, in the course of his voyage, was forced in hither by a storm. That cautious commander, finding his vessels had been so much shattered by the tempest as that they could not be repaired in any reasonable time, persuaded some of his people to pass over in a canoe to Hispaniola, in order to represent his situation to the governor there; but, as eight months had expired, and the inhabitants were very backward in furnishing supplies of provisions, the seamen becoming mutinous, the admiral hit upon an expedient which shewed his presence of mind; though it was a sort of deceit, which certainly nothing but his situation could be supposed to justify. Having calculated an eclipse, he called together a number of the natives, and told them by his interpreter, "That the God of the Christians, whom he worshipped, being angry at their not yielding a proper support to his servants, would darken the great luminary; which (he said) was intended by the Deity as a token of their approaching destruction." The event happening as he had foreseen, exceedingly terrified the savages, who implored him to use his supplications, in order to avert the threatened judgment; promising to be compliant for the future. The adventurer, withdrawing, pretended to pray to God; and, when he knew the darkness was going off, told them that he had prevailed with heaven

to with-hold it's judgments, on the conditions agreed upon. He was immediately accommodated with provisions, which relieved him from his present distress. This however was but a temporary assistance. He was disappointed of his passage in a ship which arrived from Hispaniola. He was obliged to send his brother to engage the Mutineers; and, after all, might have been obliged to remain on the island for the remainder of his life, had not a private person fitted out a vessel, to convey him to the desired settlement, from whence he sailed for Spain; but died soon afterwards, as has been already related.

The government and property of Jamaica were granted to the family of this great and much abused man, and his son was the first governor. He himself is said to have founded Melilla; and his successors built St. Jago de la Vega, as well as some other towns, which yielded to the last mentioned, on account of it's convenient situation. These however thought little of such possessions as produced neither gold nor silver, and were guilty of the greatest barbarities to the natives.

The town of St. Jago was taken and plundered, in 1596, by Sir Anthony Shirley. In the year 1635, the same town was afterwards taken by colonel Jackson, who consented to ransom it for a considerable sum of money.

But an armament fitted out, during the usurpation of Cromwell, for the purpose of reducing Hispaniola, from whence they were shamefully repulsed, first conquered this island, which originally they had no design of attempting; but, being afraid and ashamed to return to England without effecting any thing, the commanders of

the expedition resolved on this expedient, in order to atone for their former failure.

It was in the beginning of May that the troops laid siege to St. Jago, which, not being in a proper condition for resistance, would soon have surrendered but for the delays of the English. In the end, it was however given up, but not till after the inhabitants had found means to remove their most valuable effects. As numbers of the old possessors had fled to the woods, the Spaniards had thoughts of retaking the place; there was also a dangerous mutiny on the island, but the insurgents were reduced; the English were masters at sea, and the island in consequence still remained with the captors.

To Jamaica, the Buccaneers or American pirates, composed of different nations, frequently resorted. Henry Morgan, a Welch commander among these, was here well known. Morgan was however knighted for some services he had done his country, but was afterwards sent home to England as a pirate, where he languished long in confinement, without being brought to a trial.

This island, which lies in the track of Hurricanes, is also frequently visited by those more terrible scourges of heaven, earthquakes. The first English inhabitants of this island, having neglected those methods of building which the Spaniards had practised, exposed themselves the more to these dreadful calamities. It was during the government of the duke of Albemarle, the son of general Monk, on Sunday the 19th of February, that a concussion of the earth happened, which was felt through the whole island, and did vast damage in many parts of it; ruining the sugar-works, and destroying the
richest

richest plantations. In 1692, another more dreadful earthquake happened; by which Port-Royal, at that time the finest town in Jamaica, was entirely destroyed. The wharfs suddenly sunk down; and the places where the streets formerly stood were filled with water. The earth opening, swallowed up houses and their inhabitants; and some of the persons who had been ingulphed at one place, were disgorged at another with no material injury, and lived many years after. On the whole, there were about 2000 people lost. Many of the ships in the harbour were destroyed, while the Swan frigate rode over the tops of houses without being overfet.

All the island suffered in proportion; and to this calamity another succeeded: either the foulness of the atmosphere, or the vapours issuing from the bowels of the earth, produced a pestilence, of which 3000 died; so that the whole settlement was for a long time only a spectacle of horror. An invasion was at this time attempted by the French; but their shipping were burnt, and the design consequently defeated. In commemoration of these awful judgments, an annual fast was instituted in the island.

The mutinies of the Negroes, as well as the fear of foreign enemies, still continued through successive years. In the mean time, the people of Jamaica made an alliance with the Musquito Indians; a nation on the continent, inhabiting a sandy bay between Mexillo and Honduras; whither they had been driven by the Spaniards, to whom they bore a most implacable hatred. It was with a view to defend this, and the other West India islands, that admiral Bembow engaged M. de Casse, whom he defeated; but could not destroy the

French Squadron, on account of the ill behaviour of the captains Kirby and Wade; who were afterwards shot for cowardice in England. The admiral was mortally wounded in the engagement.

Mr. Ayscough, who was twice governor of Jamaica, attacked and dispersed the Negroes in the mountains; yet other insurrections were raised, but these were generally defeated; and the islanders increasing in wealth and prosperity, were in a respectable situation in the year 1755. The island is situate between 17 and 19 degrees of north latitude. It's length is about 140, it's breadth about 60 miles. It has no rivers properly called navigable; but canoes pass along the streams here. The heat is excessive, but tempered by the sea-breeze. The soil is in general fertile. Besides the sugar-cane, so common to the West-India islands, here grow the Pimento or All-Spice, the wild cinnamon, the cedar, the cabbage-tree, the white wood, the soap-tree, whose berries are used in washing, and the Monchineal, the fruit and juice of which are poison, but it's wood most useful for cabinet-makers. To those may be added guaiacum, sarsaparilla, china-root, cassia, and tamarinds, the iron-wood, and the mastic-tree.

Barbadoes is the next island that falls under our consideration. It lies in 13° north latitude. It is probable that the Portuguese were originally it's discoverers; but the first Englishmen who landed on it were some sailors, belonging to the fleet of Sir William Courteen, cruising against the Spaniards, towards the end of king James's reign. The reports of those people, on their return to England, induced some attempts; but the island being desert, woody, and producing no other quadrupeds than hogs, the first attempts proved unsuccessful

successful. However, the earl of Carlisle received a grant of the island from king Charles I. It does not appear that he tried to settle it on his own account, but had disposed of several of his shares to others, who attended to the culture of tobacco, but to little purpose; cotton and indigo succeeded better: but it was not till 1647 that they proceeded to cultivate sugar, which is now the staple commodity: and it was about this time that many of the royal party fled to this place as an asylum, and population began to increase; which advanced so rapidly, that, in the year 1650, thirty thousand white men, and double the number of negroes, were found upon the island. At that time the trade was mostly in the hands of the Hollanders; but a navigation-act, passed in the time of Cromwell, confined it to the mother country. In the year 1676, amazing to relate! the amount of the inhabitants was 50,000 whites, and 100,000 slaves; so that in twenty-six years they had increased two-thirds in their number; a consideration sufficient to make their future interests an object of concern to Great-Britain: 1,500 ships, of 50 tons each, being employed in their trade; and their exports were reckoned to amount to £ 350,000 sterling.

Since this period, however, the increase of the French islands in that neighbourhood, and other circumstances, have contributed much to reduce the number of it's inhabitants: besides a contagious distemper, probably brought from Africa, raged here for many years, and occasioned a most cruel havock among the people. There remain however about 25,000 whites, and 75,000 blacks, yet upon the island; tho' it may properly be said to have been for some time past in a declining state. The militia of the place amount to near 5000.

The salary of the governor (his perquisites included) is estimated at £ 5000 sterling. The church of England worship is established here, as in the other islands, and the clergy are well provided for.

The air is mostly healthful, and the soil fertile ; but it is subject to frequent hurricanes; and Bridge-Town, it's capital, has often been consumed by dreadful fires : to prevent which accidents in future, the houses are to be built of brick-work. Barbadoes suffered greatly in the late violent hurricane, which extended through most of the West-Indies.

St. Christopher's (or St. Kitt's, as it is commonly called) was the island next settled. The English under Sir Thomas Warner, and the French under M. Desnabue, arrived on the same day, in the year 1625 ; and amicably divided the island between them three years ; afterwards they were dispossessed of it by the Spaniards : but, after their departure, the colonists of both nations returned, and lived in harmony together till the time of queen Anne's wars ; when the English conquered the French division of it, and, by the treaty of Utrecht, the whole was ceded to Great-Britain.

The air of St. Kitt's is accounted more wholesome than that of Jamaica, being better cooled by the sea-breezes ; but the landing here is very difficult, on account of a high surf generally beating upon the shore. The island is about 75 miles in circumference, and the inhabitants about 7000 whites and 20,000 negroes. It produces annually near 10,000 hogshheads of sugar, and rum in proportion.

Nevis,

Nevis, a small island in the neighbourhood, planted by the first English settlers at St. Christopher's, is about six miles in length; and has the appearance of one continued mountain. It produces 6000 hogsheads of sugar yearly, and a proportionate quantity of rum. It once contained 10,000 whites and 20,000 blacks; but the inhabitants, in 1755, were reduced to half that number.

Montserrat lies in the 17th degree of north latitude, is nine miles in length, and about the same in breadth, being nearly circular. It was settled by Sir Thomas Warner; and most of the inhabitants are Irish, or the descendants of Irishmen. Its inhabitants and produce are much the same with those of Nevis.

Antigua lies in the 17th degree of north latitude; it is twenty miles in length and breadth, and in circumference about sixty. This island received the name it bears from the Spaniards, on account of the defect of springs or rivulets here; the inhabitants having no other water than such as falls from the heavens, which they catch and preserve in cisterns; so that a dry season is terrible to them. The climate is not so wholesome as that of Barbadoes, and it is subject to dreadful hurricanes; however, its fine harbours render it a valuable acquisition. An attempt was made to settle Antigua by Sir Thomas Warner; Charles II. granted it to lord Willoughby, when that nobleman was governor of Barbadoes: it afterwards became public property. 16,000 hogsheads of sugar are raised here. That commodity was at first but very indifferent, but has been much improved by the planters.

Antigua,

Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, are all under the government of one captain-general; whose place is worth about £ 8500 a year. Yet each of the islands has it's respective governor, whose salary is about £ 200 a year; and each has it's separate council and assembly. The two islands called Barbuda and Anguilla are likewise under this jurisdiction; but these latter raise their own stock, traffic with their neighbours, and have no immediate connexion with England.

The Virgin Islands, as they are called, lie to the windward of Porto-Rico. They are divided between the English and the Danes. The former are in possession of the principal of these, which is named Tortola: it's chief production is cotton, and that of an inferior quality. The climate here is very unhealthful, and the situation altogether not desirable.

Grenada, and the islands called the Grenadines, (which were first in the hands of the French, and have since been taken and retaken) were reckoned well worth a contest between the two nations. The largest island, called Grenada, lies in latitude $11^{\circ} 13'$ north, only 30 leagues distant from the Spanish main, and is the southermost of all the Antilles. It's length is thirty miles, it's breadth about sixteen. It's climate is generally hot, but tempered by the sea-breeze; and the rainy seasons here are generally very regular. It has some high mountains, but many more fertile; river and sea fish, turtle and wild fowl, are here in abundance. It has good anchorage all along the coast, and the island is out of the track of hurricanes.

The

The Grenadilloes are a cluster of small islands, which lie between Grenada and St. Vincent. Many of these are scarcely to be denominated any thing better than rocks: but twenty-three of them, as it is asserted, are capable of cultivation. The principal of this cluster is called Curiacou: It is seven miles in length, and the same in breadth; being of a circular figure. The island of Bequia, which is also reckoned among the Grenadilloes, and indeed is the largest of them all, as it is twelve leagues in circumference, and is esteemed a fertile spot. It lies only two leagues to the south-west of St. Vincent.

After Grenada had been conquered, the French, remaining on the island, had some disputes with the English. It must be confessed, that some of the latter, under cover of religion, sought to deprive the others entirely of their right of voting; but, when the matter came to be agitated here, the government adopted conciliatory measures; and two French subjects were permitted to take their seats in the council, and three in the assembly, without subscribing the test which their opposers wished to insist upon.

We shall now speak of the Bermudas. These are a cluster of islands, situate in the 32d degree of north latitude. They lie at the distance of 200 leagues from any land whatever; and are situate in the midst of an ocean so tempestuous and terrible, as often to affright the most experienced mariners; and some ancient voyagers were so panic-struck at the violence of the storms they encountered, that they set down these isles for habitations of evil spirits, who delighted as they said to put the elements into such commotion.

Mariners

Mariners reckon about 400 of these isles; but far the greater part of them are barren. The principal of them is called St. George, and is about sixteen miles long and three broad, and well fortified both by nature and art. The number of the English settlers here is about 10,000. There are fewer negroes in the Bermudas than in the other West-India islands; however, being as it were naturalized and better used, they are more faithful, serviceable, and intelligent.

It is most probable, that these isles received the name of Bermudas from a Spaniard so called, who was shipwrecked upon one of them. From an accident of the same nature which happened to Sir George Summer, they have also been called the Summer-Islands. This gentleman was one of the first settlers of Virginia; and it was owing to the report he made of them to the Virginia company that they were first attended to by the English. Though surrounded by such seas as we have described, yet the climate is generally healthful, the weather pleasant, and the principal islands fertile.

Sloops and small brigantines are here constructed of a most durable cedar wood; which is in one respect always preferable to other timber, especially in these parts; namely, the quality of never being touched by the worms. Their sounds, and the sea which surrounds them, abound with fish. A number of whales are seen in these latitudes, which occasioned some persons to project a whale-fishery here; but it did not meet with the expected success.

Ambergris, that odoriferous drug which is so highly valued in Europe, and the original of which
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is intirely unknown, is here frequently found in lumps, scattered among the rocks. It is said that three seamen, who were once lost by accident on shore at the Bermudas, found, among many lumps of that commodity, one that weighed above eighty pounds.

The soil is favourable to the mulberry-tree; and raw silk might be made a considerable article here, but that the dearness of labour is a considerable obstacle. There has been an attempt made for raising cochineal, but the scheme miscarried.

On the island of St. George abovementioned stands the capital town, which bears the same name; and it contains above a thousand houses, built of a sort of free-stone, like that of Bath; of which there are considerable quarries found in these parts. The place is strong and well fortified; and the harbour, which it is always dangerous to enter, is defended by seven forts, upon which seventy great guns are mounted.

The Bahama or Lucayos Isles were the first land discovered by Columbus. Some years after this discovery, the harmless natives were totally exterminated by the Spaniards; who seemed at the same time to entertain no ideas of making any settlement upon them. The English were the first who made the attempt; and, in the reign of king Charles II. the proprietors of Carolina sent out several governors, and built the town of Nassau, on the island of New-Providence; which is the seat of government. The new colonies were at times, however, expelled by the French and Spaniards, in the year 1708; and were obliged intirely to abandon the settlement. But, after the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, a great

great number of seamen out of employment, turning pirates, fitted out vessels for the purpose of robbing, indiscriminately, all whom they should meet on the ocean; and these people, entering the harbour of Providence, made it their principal rendezvous, and defended it with strong fortifications. Captain Woods Rogers, the circumnavigator, being sent out with three men of war from England to dislodge them, effected his purpose; and, having established a government here, published a general pardon; which most taking the benefit of, came in and submitted to legal authority. As a great part of the present inhabitants are their descendants, so it seems that they are actuated by a spirit somewhat similar; the chief of their occupation being that of privateering, in which they are very expert; and have been known somewhat too forward in seizing neutral vessels, and getting them condemned. Like the people inhabiting some of the sea-coasts of England, they keep a watchful eye upon shipwrecks; even fitting out small vessels, to look for such ships as may have been cast away upon the Florida shore.

The Bahama-Islands have been always acknowledged to belong to the English, since the expedition of captain Woods Rogers. Their situation is to the northward of Cuba, and to the east-south-east of East-Florida, between the 21st and 25th degrees of north latitude. They are supposed to be some hundreds in number; but a great part of them are only small hillocks, (as it were) just emerging from the water. The principal of them all is the island called Bahama, from which the rest now take their names. It lies in latitude $26^{\circ} 45'$ north, about 20 leagues distant from the Peninsula

Peninsula of Florida. It's length is fifty miles, and it's greatest breadth about sixty. It is a fertile and pleasant place, but is uninhabited. Lucayos is the next in consideration. This, as well as Andros and Long-Island, runs out more in length than in breadth.

Of all these islands (most of which are long slips of land) there are but three settled; namely, Providence; Harbour-Island, and Eleuthera: all of which are esteemed very healthful. Providence is remarkable for a dry, hard, and rocky soil, and seems calculated for little else besides the raising of cotton, and the culture of limes, with which it abounds; and great quantities whereof were usually exported to North-America; as are also pine-apples, which are mostly raised in Eleuthera and Harbour-Island. The dying woods, *lignum-vitæ*, and mahogany of an inferior quality, are cut here on their own islands, and the Florida keys; and green turtle are caught on the Bahama banks; numbers of which are sent to England.

Having thus described the situation of America and the islands, we shall now return to the thread of our history.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

*First Campaign in America—The French baffled—
Their various Successes—Braddock defeated—
Consequences of his Miscarriage.*

AS hostilities had already been carried on with a degree of ardour in North-America, where major Lawrence, as well as Washington, (now the Congress general) had been very active in opposing the French, with various success; so when the tidings of admiral Boscawen's capture arrived, the two parties renewed their contest with double fury; and the campaign in 1755 was opened by the French, in this quarter of the world, with the highest expectations of success.

In the mean time the French ambassador had been recalled; and, after a series of hostilities, war was declared in form between the two rival nations.

As all thoughts of reconciliation were now at an end, both the French and English resumed their favourite schemes; the former, those of engaging all the Indians against their enemies, and driving them out of the New-York and New-England provinces; the latter, the plan of taking Louisbourg, Montreal, and Quebec, and punishing those nations which had dealt perfidiously with them.

In the month of May, this year, lieutenant-colonel Monckton set out with a large detachment by land; while captain Rous, with three frigates and a sloop of war, sailed up the bay of Fundy, in order to assist him in his operations.

Monckton

Monckton proceeded without opposition, till he arrived on the banks of the river; when he found a body of French and Acadians drawn up in readiness to dispute his passage: of these, 450 had taken post in a blockhouse, fortified with cannon, situated on the opposite side of the river; the rest, who were to defend it's banks on the side where he approached, had intrenched themselves behind a breast-work of timber, raised as an out-work, to prevent the passage of the English army. Lieutenant-colonel Monckton having carried the breast-work after a sharp dispute, those who were posted in the blockhouse abandoned it, and the passage was left clear to the victors, who continued their march towards the French fort called Beau Sejour; which, after a four days siege, surrendered on terms of capitulation. He changed the name of Sejour, calling it Fort Cumberland; and, leaving a garrison there, proceeded to another fortress on the banks of the river Gaspereau; which was almost immediately delivered up to him, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. In the mean time, Captain Rous threatening an attack upon a fort at the mouth of the river St. John, those who should have defended the place abandoned it, after having spiked up their cannon, and destroying as much as possible of the works, to prevent their enemies from making a lodgement there. A great number of the Acadians, who were disarmed by the English, were some time after these successes obliged by their conquerors to quit their habitations, and dispersed over the various districts of English America, where they were settled during the war; but when peace was concluded, liberty being granted them if they thought proper to retire to any part of the French

French dominions, they also, mindful of the violence that had been offered them, in thus forcing them from their old settlements, forsook the English, and were carried to Cape François, in the island of Hispaniola.

Thus far success attended on the British arms; and the French had not a place of consequence in Nova-Scotia that could any way annoy us. In the mean time, preparations had also been made for attacking them upon the Ohio; and an army collected, which was to be put under the command of major-general Braddock, who was appointed commander in chief of all the troops then assembled in, or afterwards to be sent over to, British America. This general, arriving in Virginia before the end of February, issued summonses for the different governors to meet him, in order to consult on the measures which it would be proper to pursue in the campaign projected for the ensuing spring. It was agreed at this council, that for the preservation of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara, Pepperel's and Shirley's regiments should be sent to lake Ontario, where two armed vessels should be built and stationed; the execution of which was to be intrusted to Mr. Shirley, while fort Du Quesne (a fort lately erected) was to be attacked by general Braddock himself; and Crown-Point, on the frontiers of New-York, was to be invellied by general Johnson.

The general marched accordingly at the head of 2200 men, against fort Du Quesne, and arrived at fort Cumberland in his way thither; but ill supplied with carriages and provisions. He had still 140 miles to march, and could not but meet with many difficulties in his route through rugged
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and pathless ways in unknown countries : yet he proceeded, though he was frequently obliged to make the roads he was to pass through ; and being eager to rout the enemy, before they had received some reinforcements, which he was informed they expected, formed his little army into two divisions. The general himself was at the head of the first, which consisted of 1400 men ; and he had with him the greater part of the artillery and ammunition. At the head of the second division, consisting of about 800 men, was colonel Dunbar, who had the provisions and heavy baggage under his convoy ; with which he was ordered to advance with all convenient expedition.

Sir Peter Halket, who was Braddock's lieutenant, advised him to reconnoitre the woods as he passed along, and to proceed with caution ; an advice, which one would have thought, any officer who had the smallest idea of the American service, and of the country he was to pass through, would readily have followed : but this insatuated man absolutely rejected it ; and proceeded as carelessly as if he had been on his march through one of the counties of England. He found his error when he came within about ten miles of fort Du Quesne ; towards which his rapid march had been directed. Here he was attacked by the French and Indians, who poured a heavy fire upon the vanguard of his army, which was conducted by general Gage, at the same time that his left flank also was severely handled by a body of savages that lay sheltered behind the bushes. The main body now advancing, the van fell back upon it, which occasioned great confusion ; yet the officers rallied their men, and formed them again ;

again; but the contest was so unequal that they again gave way. It was certainly now time to retreat, and not madly to advance against an unseen enemy. Braddock might have drawn off his men, till by means of his artillery he had cleared the woods; but he was impetuous, he was desperate. In this extremity, he still gave orders to such as had the intrepidity to stand by him, to form and advance; an order which rashness only could dictate, and the most determined valour obey. The consequence was such as might well be expected; a dreadful carnage, in which the officers suffered most; the Indians knowing them by their dress, and according to their custom leisurely taking aim at them, while the fire of the English was uncertain, and most probably did very little execution. Five horses were killed under general Braddock; who, continuing fixed on the spot, was at last shot through the lungs; and with difficulty carried off the scene of action, by lieutenant-colonel Gage, and other brave Englishmen; but died four days after. The son of general Shirley, Sir Peter Halket, colonel of the 44th regiment, and many officers of rank and distinction, as well as about 700 private soldiers, were killed in this engagement. All the artillery and ammunition, the general's private cabinet, and most of the baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy; the remainder of the English army retreating with precipitation, though the enemy never appeared, nor had any idea of quitting their advantageous position to pursue them.

This defeat furnished great matter of triumph to the French and their Indians, at the same time that it laid Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, open to their attacks: which, added to the misfortune,

fortune, was, the disputes prevailing amongst the assemblies of those provinces, concerning the raising of supplies for their own defence; which subsisted, till necessity at last obliged them to make a proper provision.

The province of New-York, however, mindful of former successes, were more active at this time than their southern brethren. They voted 45000 for the defence of their frontier; and, having received some assistance from the eastward, two expeditions were planned; one against Crown-Point, situate about 100 miles from Albany; and the other against Niagara, situated between the lakes Erie and Ontario: which secured the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The first expedition was commanded by general Johnson, an officer well known to the Indians; and the latter by general Shirley.

The army fixed their rendezvous at Albany; from whence, all things being got in readiness, Johnson proceeded towards the carrying-place; where, by this time, that fortress had been built, on the east side of Hudson's river, which is called Fort-Edward. The general advanced about fifteen miles further northward; but soon received news that the enemy were on their march to attack the fort. On this he detached 1000 men to relieve it, or bring off their countrymen; but these retreated in confusion; and it was thought proper to send another detachment to secure the flying parties.

The French under baron Deskiau appeared soon after; and, had they made an instantaneous attack, it is probable that they would have succeeded; but, wasting their time in platoon-firing against an intrenched enemy, the latter mounted

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their cannon; and, when a nearer attack was given, repulsed the assailants on every side; and leaping over their breast works when they gave way, put them to total rout and confusion, with the loss of 800 slain and 300 taken prisoners: among the former was M. S. Pierre, one of the most useful officers that the French had in that quarter of the world. Among the latter was the baron Deskiau himself, who was most dangerously wounded.

We have already observed, that the aim of this expedition was the reduction of Crown-Point, but it was now too late in the season to make an attempt upon that fortress; so that the enemy not being pursued in such a manner as to render the action decisive, little more than honour was gained by this remarkable victory.

General Shirley, who commanded the expedition against Niagara, arrived at Oswego on the 18th of August; but it was the 31st before all his troops, with such stores and provisions as they had, could reach him. Oswego is situate on the south-east side of lake Ontario, about 300 miles to the westward of Albany. The way to it from thence is long and tedious, but is mostly performed by a sort of flat-bottomed boats, called batteaux; which, however, are in some places hawled over land on sledges, before they can complete the navigation. The fort above-mentioned, though it had long been in possession of the English, was in a poor state of defence when general Shirley entered it. Having sent deputations to the six Indian nations, whose aid he expected, he had the mortification to find, that as they had conceived the idea that the country hereabouts was sacred to trade, they refused to co-operate with

with him. The season was now far advanced; Shirley's provisions were exhausted, and the small supply of provisions which he received in September, was not more than sufficient to subsist his troops for twelve days; he therefore returned to Albany. The French and their Indians ravaged the defenceless part of the provinces; and thus ended the campaign for 1755, very little to the advantage of either nation; but marked by the barbarity of the savages, who were let loose upon the unarmed and peaceable planters.

C H A P. VI.

Progress of the War in America—Forts Oswego, Ontario, and William-Henry, taken by the French under Montcalm—Cape Breton surrendered to the English—Description of Louisbourg—Fort Frontenac surrendered—Various Successes of the War—Ticonderago and Crown-Point taken—General Wolfe arrives in the Neighbourhood of Quebec.

GENERAL Abercrombie succeeded Shirley in command. In June 1756, he assembled the English army at Albany. It was now again designed to reduce Niagara, Ticonderago, and Crown-Point, while Quebec was to be alarmed by a body of troops, detached for that purpose up the river

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Kennebec. These were extensive views; but the measures for their execution were delayed till the arrival of lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's American forces. The provincial officers were divided in their opinions, Whether his lordship's authority was necessary for bringing the troops into action? That nobleman did not arrive till the season was too far advanced; and thus another year was spent to no purpose; while the English provinces were left exposed to the incursions of an exasperated enemy.

Fort Oswego was now threatened; a party sent to convey supplies thither had been cut off, but for the courage and conduct of colonel Bradstreet. But this and fort Ontario afterwards fell into the hands of M. Montcalm, one of the best generals the French had ever sent over to North-America. The Indians in the French interest continued their depredations, and the English sometimes revenged themselves; but nothing further, except a French man of war and a store-ship being taken by the English, distinguishes the campaign of this year.

As all thoughts of attacking Crown-Point were laid aside for the present, it was now determined to make an attempt on Cape Breton. The earl of Loudon was put at the head of an army for this purpose; with whom admiral Holbourn was to co-operate. But, on his departure, M. Montcalm met with such success in taking fort William-Henry, and some other fortunate events, that he was elevated to the very pinnacle of hope. In the mean time, our forces by land and sea executed nothing: the former, who knew the suc-
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cesses of the French, laid aside their design; the latter cruised before Louisbourg, till they were driven thence, with loss, by a terrible tempest.

Lord Loudon was now recalled, and general Abercrombie was appointed to command the land-forces. Twelve thousand were destined for the attack upon Louisbourg, under major-general Amherst; and 6000 were reserved to march under the conduct of the commander in chief for the reduction of Crown-Point; and 8000 were allotted for the conquest of fort Duquesne, under the direction of brigadier-general Forbes. This expedition was well concerted, and succeeded accordingly. After a smart attack, and vigorous defence, the island of Cape Breton, and the town of Louisbourg, surrendered, upon terms of capitulation.

Louisbourg is situate in $45^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude. It was at that time of a middling size; the houses in general were built of wood, but raised upon stone foundations. The town was walled and well fortified, except in one quarter where it could not be approached, even in small barks, for the space of one hundred yards; and there a pallisado was deemed a sufficient security; especially as two bastions very advantageously flanked this quarter. There was a strong building in the centre of one of the chief bastions, with a moat on the side towards the town; which was called the Citadel, tho' it mounted no artillery. Within this edifice were the governor's apartments, the barracks for the garrison, and the arsenal: and there was a magazine under the platform of the redoubt. The parish-church also stood within the

Citadel. The harbour is safe and large ; but the entrance of it is very narrow : however there is but one rock which lies under water ; the sands near which are very dangerous for shipping in winter, however, the whole harbour is frozen over from October, or November, till the latter end of the month of May. A great quantity of timber, such as oaks, pines, cedar, ash, plane-trees, and aspines, may be found here ; and the country abounds with coal-mines. The principal occupation of the inhabitants, when the season permits, is that of fishing on the coasts. The island of St. John, in the gulph of St. Laurence, submitted, as soon as it was known that Louisbourg was taken.

In the mean time, general Abercrombie advanced towards Ticonderago ; but, attacking the French in their lines, was defeated with the loss of 1800 men. He had before lost lord Howe in a skirmish with the enemy. In order to repair this misfortune, the general detached colonel Bradstreet to make an attempt on fort Frontenac, which was taken and demolished ; nine sloops and a magazine of provisions were at the same time destroyed.

General Forbes, advancing against fort Du Quesne, was at first defeated, and baffled in his attempts ; but the garrison finding no hopes of succour, at length abandoned the place, where the British flag was planted by the victorious commander ; and the place received the name of Pittsburgh, in honour of the English minister.

Many of the Indian nations being now brought over to the English side, as success is with them
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the best of all arguments, and the provinces secured from the incursions of the French, expeditions were planned the next year for the reduction of Crown-Point, Niagara, Quebec, and their dependencies. General Wolfe, seconded by a strong English Squadron, was to besiege Quebec. General Amherst was to endeavour the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown-Point; and if he succeeded, was to join that commander. At the same time general Prideaux, assisted by a body of Indians under Sir William Johnson, was to attack the French fort, near the fall of Niagara; and this being carried, was to proceed down the river St. Laurence to Montreal, in order to make himself master of that place; and then to join general Amherst: while general Skirven, with a chosen party, was to reduce the forts on the Ohio, and to scour the banks of lake Ontario.

These different expeditions were accordingly set on foot. General Amherst, passing lake George, presented himself before Ticonderago; which, after a shew of defence, was deserted by the garrison. He then advanced towards Crown-Point, which last the French also abandoned, after having set it on fire; thus still retreating to the centre of their operations, Quebec, which they had resolved most resolutely to defend. He also meditated an attack upon 3500 French, that had retired to the isle Au Noix, at the north-east extremity of lake Champlain; but, though his vessels were superior to the enemy, yet the elements fighting against him, he was obliged to abandon his project, though with much reluctance.

General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson advanced against fort Niagara; the former being killed by the bursting of a cohorn, brigadier Gage was sent to assume the command; who found that Sir William had disposed all things with judgment. The French resolved to exert themselves in the relief of this place. The English determined to become masters of it. A battle was fought, in which the latter proved victorious; the enemy being defeated, and their general, with all his principal officers, made prisoners. The fort was in consequence surrendered to the British arms, without farther opposition.

The expedition against Quebec under Wolfe now proceeding, he arrived at the isle of Orleans in the latter end of June; and, having in a manner possessed himself of the river St. Laurence, published a manifesto among the inhabitants, exhorting them to observe a strict neutrality; in which case they might enjoy all the blessings of peace, amidst the horrors of war: laid before them the weakness of France, and the strength of England; and concluded by observing, that he should adhere to strict justice, and regulate his conduct by their resolutions.

But the Canadians had been too much prejudiced against the British subjects, to listen to his counsel, or to trust his promises. For the most part, they were content to quit their dwellings; and, whenever opportunity offered, to act in a hostile manner against our forces every where. They joined the scalping parties of the savages, and murdered any stragglers they found with the greatest barbarity; so that nothing but retaliation remained; which Wolfe was in some cases almost

almost necessitated to allow, though the permitting it was contrary to his natural disposition.

CHAPTER VII.

General Wolfe's Success, and Death—Quebec surrendered to the English—Description of that Capital—Again besieged by the French—Murray defeated—The Enemy raise the Siege—Successes of the English in the West-Indies—Guadaloupe, Martinico, and the Havannah, taken—Affairs of Europe—Canada ceded to the English by the Treaty of Paris.

THE city of Quebec, against which the general pointed his attack, was strongly fortified; had a numerous garrison, and was well provided with provisions and ammunition. Five regular battalions, formed of the inhabitants, had reinforced the troops of the colony. The Canadians and Indians were raised and disciplined; and Montcalm took the field, at the head of an army more numerous than the English; yet this wary commander had resolved, if possible, to decline coming to a battle; the event of which might at one stroke decide the fate of Canada. He prudently encamped his forces along the shore of Beaufort, between the river St. Charles and an

extensive sand-bank, which prevents any large vessel from approaching; thus securing his front, while his rear was covered with impenetrable woods. Thus stationed, he had it in his choice whether to fight or not, and could throw succour into the city at pleasure.

The difficulties which must attend the siege of a place, thus covered and defended, appeared almost insurmountable: they did not escape the penetration of Wolfe, he saw them in their utmost extent; but, at the same time, he saw the season wasting apace; he considered the necessity there was to attempt something in the present posture of affairs; and he knew also, that it was always practicable to retreat to the English squadron, as long as they remained in the river. He likewise expected to be joined by Amherst; and, upon the whole, resolved to proceed in his undertaking. Having received advice, that a detachment of the French had posted themselves at Point-Levi, on the southern shore, opposite the city of Quebec, he sent general Moncton to dislodge them: which service being effected, notwithstanding some interruption from the enemy, the upper town, being exposed to the fire of the English batteries erected there, was soon greatly damaged; though, if Montcalm's advice had been followed, that post would have been so much strengthened, that the attempt must have failed; but Vaudreuil the governor over ruled him.

While these things were passing, the English fleet, which was in two divisions, suffered much from a tempest; some of the transports ran foul of each other, while others were driven on shore. The French, observing their distress, sent down

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rafts and fire-ships to destroy them; but these were towed aground by the sailors, where they burned without doing the least damage. A second attempt of the same kind was made, which was greatly unsuccessful; and general Wolfe still advanced towards the city, by way of Montmorency; from whence an effort was now made to attack the French army: but, notwithstanding the greatest exertions, it miscarried.

By this time, news was received that Niagara, Crown-Point, and Ticonderago, were already in the hands of the English; and that general Amherst was proposing to pass lake Champlain.

At this time general Wolfe fell sick, but still turned his attention towards the service. All attacks from the quarter of Montmorency were found to be ineffectual; the city of Quebec was reconnoitred, with a view to prepare for a general assault; but this was declared to be an undertaking not at all likely to be crowned with success. The camp at Montmorency was now therefore broken up, and the troops were encamped at Point-Levi; while the squadron under the command of admiral Holmes made various movements up the river, with a view of diverting the enemy's attention.

The English general embarked his forces on the 5th and 6th of September; but the weather being bad, and the transports crowded, half the troops were landed in the southern shore for refreshment. Admiral Saunders was now instructed to make a feint of attacking the French in their intrenchments, while Wolfe embarked his men about one o'clock in the morning: admiral Holmes having sailed nine miles farther up the river than the place where the landing was in-

tended. The transports fell silently down with the tide, and were carried rather beyond the place of attack. The ships however followed them; and all being in readiness, the troops were disembarked without being perceived by the enemy: which extraordinary success was greatly owing to two French deserters, having given information that a convoy was expected by the garrison, under the conduct of M. Bougainville; by which means the boats being hailed by the centinels, as an answer was returned in French, suited to the purpose, the besiegers' boats were suffered to pass as part of the expected convoy; nor was the mistake discovered till it was past a remedy.

But it proving impossible for the English to land at the place where they intended, when they first gained the shore, they saw nothing before them but precipices, so steep, that they appeared almost perpendicular; except a narrow path that wound up the ascent; and even there a captain's guard was placed. But this unpromising appearance was neither sufficient to deter the general, nor to cast any damp upon the spirits of his troops. The light-infantry, by means of stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up; drove the enemy from their station; and, clearing the path, gained the summit of the hill; where they formed themselves as fast as they arrived; and were so expeditious, that by day-break they were all in order of battle.

When the tidings first reached M. Montcalm, that the English had gained the heights of Abraham (for so these precipices were called) he believed it was only a feint, in order to draw him from the strong post which he then occupied; but

but when he was convinced of the report, as he knew that the enemy could from their post command the weaker part of the city of Quebec, he at once resolved to hazard a battle. He accordingly quitted his camp, drew together all his force, and marched against the English, whom he found prepared for his reception.

The force of the latter consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers: brigadier Moncton commanded the right, and brigadier Murray the left; in the rear of which colonel Howe was posted. The French general, having crossed the river St. Charles with his whole army, now formed in order of battle, by his movements indicating a design to fall upon our left flank, brigadier Townshend was ordered to repair thither with Amherst's regiment, which he formed in such a manner as to present a double front. He was reinforced afterwards with two battalions; and the reserve, formed in eight subdivisions with large intervals, was posted behind the right. The enemy's right wing was composed of half their colony troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and savages. Two other regular battalions formed their centre; and their left consisted of one battalion, with the rest of the colony troops. They had lined the bushes and corn-fields with some of their best marksmen, who much galled the English as they advanced.

The French advanced to the charge about ten o'clock in the morning; beginning their fire from the distance of 140 yards, whilst ours was reserved till they came within 40 yards: then they received a severe discharge; which, together with the grape-shot from two field-pieces which the sailors had with difficulty hauled up
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the heights, obliged the enemy to give way. Conspicuous in the front of the line, the brave Wolfe was stationed. He had been aimed at by the most expert marksmen when the engagement began; and had received a wound in the wrist, round which he bound his handkerchief, without regarding it; and advanced at the head of his grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, when a ball entered his breast, just at the moment that the enemy gave ground, and victory began to incline to the side of the English. He was now carried off to the rear of the front-line; where being asked, Whether he would have a surgeon? he replied, "That is needless; it is all over with me." Soon after, an officer who attended him exclaimed, "They run!" "Who run?" said the dying hero: the officer answered, "The French, Sir; they give way every where." "What! do the cowards run already!" rejoined Wolfe: "Go one of you to colonel Burton, and tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles-river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives." Then turning on his side, "God be praised! (said he) I die in peace;" and instantly expired. Thus fell the intrepid Wolfe, in the flower of his age; and, like another Epaminondas, in the hour of victory: but his fame will survive to ages, while his name will be always dear to every Briton! May he prove a pattern of firmness to succeeding commanders. If their lives are as glorious, they cannot wish for a death more honourable.

General Monkton, the next in command, fell immediately after; while the right and centre of the front-line, and the highlanders with their broad swords, supported by the 58th regiment, improved

improved the advantages gained before, and occasioned the flight just now mentioned; while the right wing of the French army, who had a prospect of better success, were prevented by colonel Howe from cutting off our light-infantry; and a body of Indians disappointed of their intention of falling upon the rear of the English army. General Townshend, upon whom the command was devolved, hastened to the centre; and once more formed our troops, whom the pursuit had disordered. At this very moment he received advice that M. Bougainville, with a body of 2000 men, having marched from Cape Rouge as soon as he heard the English had gained the heights of Abraham, though he came too late for a share in the principal action, was now advancing fast upon our rear; in order that his countrymen, if they had not been totally routed, might be encouraged to renew the contest. Two battalions, with two pieces of cannon, were sent against him; but, when he found all was lost, he retired to the woods: and general Townshend very prudently declined the pursuit, in which he might have hazarded much, and could have gained but little; and must have interrupted in some measure the executing of the grand design of this expedition; as, though we had gained a clear victory, Quebec was not yet taken.

Death had been very busy in the field that day; for, besides general Wolfe, and the officers killed on our side, M. Montcalm was also mortally wounded; and M. de Serefergue, and M. de St. Ours, the two next in command, were slain: about 800 fell in the action, and 1000 were taken prisoners. Of only sixty men slain on the side of the English, 9 were officers. Both nations

nations seemed to consider themselves as having sustained an irreparable loss in the death of their generals. Wolfe was the darling of the soldiery; and promised fair, had he lived, to have rivalled the greatest heroes of Greece or Rome. Montcalm was the very acting spirit of the French in those parts; where, when they were deprived of him, they seemed to deem themselves devoid of all resources: and it is probable, that to the consternation which that single event occasioned, more than to any other circumstance attending the victory, the English owed the intire conquest of Canadian France.

The conquering general now secured his camp; and contrived a road to be made up the heights for bringing forward his heavy ordnance; whilst admiral Saunders, who had all along given every assistance in his power to the army, immediately proceeded up the river with his whole fleet, in order to attack the lower town at the same time that the upper town was to be stormed by the general, at the head of the land-forces.

Yet, notwithstanding these vigorous dispositions, it is possible that the garrison of Quebec, had they recovered themselves from their surprise, might have defended, and even saved, their capital. The English had indeed obtained a glorious victory; but it was very possible, that glory might have been all the fruit they had reaped from it. Their numbers were small; and, though the town was damaged on the land-side, it was not invested, yet the walls and parapets were intire; and the garrison had been reinforced by the shattered army on it's retreat. A body of troops was assembling in the neighbourhood; and the season was fast advancing, in which the besiegers could
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have little to expect: and their fleet must have been withdrawn, or frozen up in the river St. Laurence.

However, the besieged either weighed not these difficulties, or conceived the valour and perseverance of their enemies sufficient to surmount them all. Before a battery could be finished to play upon the city, a flag of truce was sent from thence, with proposals for a capitulation; which were deliberated upon; and the terms being agreed to, the place was the next day surrendered to the British arms.

By the articles of this capitulation it was agreed, " That the garrison should march out
" with all the honours of war, and should be embarked as soon as possible for France. That the
" inhabitants, on laying down their arms, should
" be maintained in the possession of their houses,
" effects, and privileges; and should not be molested, on account of their having borne arms
" in defence of the town, because they had been
" forced so to do: and it had been customary, for
" the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns,
" to serve as militia. That the effects belonging to
" officers absent should not be touched. That the
" said inhabitants should not be compelled to quit
" their houses, till their condition should be settled
" by a treaty of peace between their most Christian
" and Britannic majesties. That the exercise of the
" Roman Catholic religion should be allowed;
" and safeguards granted to all religious houses
" and persons, as well as to the bishop; who
" should be permitted to exercise freely, and with
" decency, all the functions of his office, wherever he should think proper; till the possession
" of Canada should be determined between
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" the respective sovereigns. That the artillery
" and warlike stores should be delivered up, *bona*
" *fide*, and an inventory of them taken. That
" the sick and wounded, the commissaries, chap-
" lains, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries,
" as well as other persons employed in the hospi-
" tals, should be treated according to the cartel
" settled between the belligerent powers on the
" 6th of February 1759. That before delivering
" up the gate, and entrance of the town, to the
" English forces, their general should send some
" soldiers to be placed for safeguards (as above-
" mentioned) at the doors of the churches, con-
" vents, and the principal habitations. That the
" governor of the City should be permitted to
" send advice to the marquis de Vaudreuil of the
" reduction of the place; and also to write to the
" French ministry, to inform them of the same.
" Lastly, That this capitulation should be duly
" and punctually executed, without being liable to
" objections, under pretence of reprisals, or the
" non-execution of any preceding capitulation."

It was in this manner that, by the abilities of
general Wolfe, and the zeal of the admiral for
the service, the capital of Canada was at last re-
duced under the British dominion. The terms
granted were indeed very advantageous; but they
were such as, considering the situation of things,
might well be accorded to a numerous garrison. In
fact, the event proved, that the measure was
right; for the enemy, having rallied, were rein-
forced behind Cape Rouse, under M. Levy; who
was come thither from Montreal, with two bat-
talions of regulars, and M. de Bougainville was
on his march, at the head of 800 men, with a
convoy of provisions; in order to throw himself
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into the city (which had yet a communication with the country) on the very morning when it surrendered.

Quebec was taken possession of, and guards posted on the land-side, and, according to the terms of capitulation, in different quarters of the town; in order to preserve regularity, and prevent any acts of violence. Captain Paliser, entering the lower town with a body of seamen, acted in the same manner; and the prisoners were the next day embarked for France. Seven thousand men were left in garrison, under general Murray, with a good store of provisions and ammunition; and the admiral set sail for England, after having left all things apparently safe, and seen numbers of the inhabitants come in from the adjacent country, and take the oaths to the British government; of which they now began to entertain a more favourable opinion.

Of Quebec, so often the object of mortal contention between the two nations, we have the following description, as it appeared in the year 1760. " This capital of Canada is divided into two districts, call the Upper and the Lower Town. These are separated from each other by a steep cliff, which forms a sort of natural fortification, to near two-thirds of the upper town, while it serves as a shelter to the lower, from the N. W. winds. Most of the buildings made a good appearance; but a great part of them were destroyed or damaged by the artillery of the besiegers. Besides dwelling houses, they consisted of many churches, colleges, convents, and other public edifices, which were in general built of a stone of a grey cast, extremely durable; a great quantity of which is found in this province. In the higher

higher town the streets are broad, but uneven; running on a declivity from the south to the north. Those of the lower town are narrow, standing on a confined spot of ground, which is commonly overflowed by the tide to the foot of the precipice; and, by the retreat of the waters, pointed out a place, at the head of a spacious and most delightful bason, for merchants to build on, for the convenience of trade. The principal public edifices were, the cathedral, of which the walls only remained; the bishop's palace; the colleges of the Jesuits and Recollets; the convents of the Ursulines, of whom we have already made mention; and the Hotel Dieu; with their churches; the Intendant's palace, a seminary for the education of youth (which however was much damaged); and the church of Notre Dame in the lower town, which was intirely ruined during the siege; which proved fatal to many other buildings within the reach of the cannon. It is said, that this church was built to commemorate the retreat of Sir William Phipps, from before the city on which he had made an unsuccessful attempt, in the year 1694 (as has been already noticed in our history). There was also a painting in the city, representing a town in flames; with an inscription to the following purport: "That, in the year 1711, when Quebec was threatened with a siege, a pious woman, who affirmed that she was inspired, prophesied, that this very church, together with the lower town, would be destroyed by the English in a conflagration, before the year 1760: which made such an impression on all ranks of people, that they dedicated two days every year to fasting and prayer; and implored the intercession of their patroness with

with the Almighty, to protect that church and the city from fire and sword."

[Predictions of this kind are often communicated by impostors or enthusiasts; they are generally swallowed by the vulgar; and, as circumstances sometimes may in the common course of things appear really to fulfil them, they are in such cases regarded as divine oracles. People are willing even to add something to the prophecy, lest it should seem to fail; and then marvel greatly at the wonders which they have helped to make. But however these things may be, an historian is warranted to set down what he finds on record in cases like these; this is all that can be expected from him: as to the rest, the candid reader is left to judge for himself.]

"In the lower houses of the streets were niches in the walls, with statues, as large as life, of St. Joseph and St. Ursula, St. Augustine, and other saints; and figures of the same sort are seen in the fronts of their churches and religious houses. The Citadel, which is the residence of the governor, situated on the grand parade, a spacious square, surrounded with fine buildings; is curiously erected on the summit of a precipice, to the southward of the episcopal palace, and overlooks the town and basin; whence there is a most delightful prospect of the city downward, and of the country on both sides. There is also another citadel on the summit of Cape Diamond, with a few guns mounted on it; but, except it's commanding an extensive view of the circumjacent country, and of the upper and lower river, is in other respects but contemptible. Most of the other public buildings make a striking appearance; particularly the Intendant's palace, the Jesuit's

Jesuit's college, the Ursuline convent, and that of the Hotel de Dieu and the bishop's palace; which, as well as the citadel, being built of brick, and situated on the top of the precipice, between the higher and lower towns, suffered considerably from our batteries during the siege. On the right of the descent leading to the lower town stands a stately old house, said to be the first built in this city; and over the front-door is carved a dog, gnawing a large fleshy bone; with a whimsical inscription in French, to the following purport: *I am the dog that gnaws the bone, without losing a scrap of it's meat. The time will arrive, though it has not come yet, when I shall bite him who has bit me.* [My author seems in doubt, whether this inscription was meant to allude to the rise of the tradesman who formerly kept the house, and made a fortune by his industry; or whether it alluded to the disputes between the French and English colonies. We should rather adopt the latter opinion; and that by the bone was meant Canada, which had so long been (as the phrase is) a bone of contention between the two nations.]

In the lower town is also the custom-house, where the collector used to reside; which, by it's particular situation, escaped being damaged by the shells from the English batteries. Near a mile distant from the town, on the W. N. W. side, stands the general hospital, which is a spacious building. It is agreeably situated on the south side of the river Charles, which meanders under it's walls; and consists of a spacious dome, with two great wings, one fronting the north, the other the south. In this house is a convent of Augustine nuns, who have lands appropriated for
their

their maintenance. These sisters, from religious motives, assigned the principal parts of this dwelling for the reception of sick and wounded officers and soldiers, whom they attended with the greatest humanity and tenderness. This hospital was endowed by the French king, with a handsome salary, for the support of physician, surgeon, and other necessary officers. The nuns perform every menial office about the sick with the same indifference that one man would attend another; making it a point of conscience to do so. Each patient has his bed, with curtains allotted to him, and a man to attend him. The beds are ranged in galleries on either side, with a sufficient space between each for a person to pass. These galleries are scraped and swept every morning, and afterwards sprinkled with vinegar; that strangers are not sensible of the least disagreeable smell, even in the height of summer. The patients are allowed a sort of fan to cool themselves in sultry weather, and to keep off the gnats which are often very troublesome. Every officer has an apartment to himself. The nuns, though rigidly reserved, are yet courteous and respectful. Their dress consists of a black gown, with a bib and apron; they wear a close cap, with a forehead-cloth down to their eye-brows; their breasts entirely covered; their sleeves are made so long as to reach almost to their waists; and their cloaths sweep the ground: on the top of their heads they wear a square piece of black shalloon, which serves as a clout, flows carelessly over the shoulders, and descends quite to the waist. They have also a silver crucifix, about three inches long, which hangs by a black ribbon from the neck to the girdle. In the south wing of the edifice is a
superb

superb church, and in the other wing a neat chapel; in both are several images and scripture paintings, as large as life. The altar-cloths and hangings are of curious needle-work, wrought on silk, by the nuns, in different colours. The walls are wainscotted with oak to half their height; and the pannels painted in dark-shaded landscapes, representing the adjacent country. On the south side of the chancel are two large grated folding doors, where the nuns sit, on benches raised one above another, when they attend divine service. Westward of these are two confessional boxes; and there is a very neat music gallery over the west door. On the north side of the church is a saloon, with a curious monument, and an altar over it, elegantly arched and ornamented with small waxen figures, representing our Saviour and the Virgin Mary: on each side are two images, one of St. Augustine, which is a venerable figure, clothed in purple and white, bareheaded, with a long grey beard; holding a flaming heart in his right hand, and a book in his left. The other represents Charles, bishop of Milan, who liberally endowed this church and hospital. He stands upright, with his hands across, and an open book laid upon them, which he appears reading very attentively; he is arrayed in scarlet and white, and his silver locks flow carelessly down his shoulders.

There is a monument here in the memory of John, second bishop of Canada, the proper founder of this charity: and here rest the remains of general Montcalm; to whose memory, his generous enemies allowed a monument to be erected, with a Latin inscription; of which we shall give the reader a free translation.

Here

Here lieth,

In either Hemisphere, to live for ever,
LOUIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,
Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gobriar,
Commendatory of the Order of St. Louis,
Lieutenant-General of the Armies of France;
As good a Citizen as he was an excellent Soldier;
Who knew no Desire but that of true Glory:
Happy in a natural Genius improved by Literature:
Having gone through the several Steps of
Military Honours

With uninterrupted Lustre;
Skilled in every Branch of Military Science,
The Juncture of Times, and the Crisis of Danger,
In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany.

An indefatigable General;
He so discharged his important Trusts,
That he appeared always equal to greater:
At length, grown glorious in Perils,
Sent to secure Canada
With an Handful of Men,
He more than once repulsed the Enemy's Forces,
And made himself Master of their Forts,
Replete with Troops and Ammunition.
Inured to Cold, Hunger, Watchings, and Labour;
Unmindful of himself,

He had no Sensation but for his Soldiers:
An Enemy, with the fiercest Impetuosity;
A Victor, with the tenderest Humanity.
Adverse Fortune he compensated with Valour;
The Want of Force with Skill and Activity:
And, by his Counsel and Support,
For four Years protracted
The impending Fall of the Colony.
Having by various Artifices
Long baffled a great Army,

G

Headed

Headed by an expert and intrepid Commander,
 And a Fleet furnished with all warlike Stores;
 Compelled at length to an engagement,
 He fell in the first Rank, at the first Onset,
 With those religious Hopes
 Which he had always cherished,
 To the inexpressible Grief of his own Army,
 And not without the Regret of the Enemy.
 September xiv. A. D. M.DCC.LIX. Ætatis xlviii.
 His weeping Countrymen
 Deposited the Remains of their excellent General
 In a Grave,
 Which a fallen Bomb in bursting
 Had evacuated for him;
 Recommending them to the generous Faith of
 Their Enemies.

" The chapel is small and extremely neat, free
 from all superstitious pageantry. But if there is
 any deficiency in point of ornament in this, it is
 amply made up in that of the Ursulines within
 the city. That convent is dedicated to a female
 saint, whose descent the nuns have traced to
 Scotland; and who, they say, was killed by the
 Indians while she was labouring for their conver-
 sion. Her statue is erected against the wall, with
 an arrow fixed in her breast.

" The Hotel de Dieu is a spacious building,
 with an attic story; and seems as if intended to
 be enlarged in the form of a square; though at
 present it consists only of two wings. It appears,
 by an inscription, that it was constructed at the
 sole expence of Mary de Vigner, dutchess of
 Aiguillon: of whom there is a statue, as kneeling
 at her prayers. This house is dedicated to St.
 Joseph, the patron of Canada.

" The

“ The principal strength of Quebec consists in its situation, as ship guns cannot have sufficient elevation to do the city any considerable damage ; and it is too hazardous an undertaking for bomb-ketches to attempt to destroy it, as they are liable to be exposed to a furious fire from the several batteries erected above each other, and extending to the water’s edge ; so that any ships brought against it must run up with the flood, stand off and on till the tide ebbs, and then retire.”

While the British arms were thus successful on the continent of North-America, the war was carried on with vigour in Europe. The ministry having permitted troops to be sent to Germany, where the king of Prussia acted in alliance with us, the arms of the allies were in general successful : and it was asserted, that America was to be conquered in Germany ; as the French would not be able to spare troops to assist their colonists, while they were so vigorously opposed in that quarter. In Africa, they lost Senegal. In the East-Indies, Clive and Coote were successful, notwithstanding the efforts of M. Lally ; and Pondicherry fell into the hands of the English ; and the East-India Company became possessed of a vast territory in Indostan.

Nor had the government in the least withdrawn its attention from the West-Indies. Being rendered masters at sea by repeated victories, we had it in our power as it were to chuse what places we would attack ; and our attacks were executed with valour, as they were directed by judgment. A squadron of ships sailed for these parts, under the conduct of commodore Hughes, properly provided with store-ships and transports : their first object was, the reduction of Martinico ; but,

failing in this, they sailed for Guadaloupe, where they took Basseterre, and the whole island was afterwards conquered; surrendering, upon capitulation, to his majesty's arms.

In the mean time, the French, in the absence of our fleet, made a vigorous attempt to retake Quebec, which was defended by general Murray, whom they defeated in the field; but failed in an attempt to get between his army and the town, which held out till the arrival of a British squadron putting an end to their hopes, they raised the siege, and retreated with the greatest precipitation. Montreal was afterwards reduced, and the French lost all footing in Canada; the possession of which had so long enabled them to annoy the English colonists.

The next year, 1762, the island of Dominica (generally esteemed neutral, but then settled by the French) was taken by lord Rollo: but Martinico was a place, the capture of which still engrossed the thoughts of government; and it was now resolved to make another attempt upon that island.

Accordingly the English fleet, which then consisted of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, bomb-ketches, &c. having been reinforced by the vessels on the Barbadoes station, anchored in St. Anne's Bay on the 8th of January, after having silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on the eastern part of the coast. A ship of the line was lost here on a reef of rocks; but the men and guns were saved. The English made good their landing, and driving the French from Monte Tortersen and Monte Garnier, two considerable eminences, prepared to attack St. Pierre;

Pierre; which, together with the whole island, surrendered on capitulation.

As the Spaniards, as well as the French, had now involved themselves in a war with Great-Britain, an eye was also had to their possessions in the West-Indies: a British force was sent to reduce the island of Cuba, of which St. Jago is the capital; but the Havannah is reckoned the first in wealth and extent, and has one of the best harbours in the world. After some feints, they arrived in the month of June 1762: the British force, having soon made good their landing, advanced up the country under general Elliot, while commodore Keppel brought his ships towards the Moro castle. Our troops encountered inconceivable difficulties in carrying on the siege of this fortress; but such was their resolution, that they rose superior to them all: batteries were erected, and the approaches carried on with vigour. A sally was made on the 29th by the besieged, but they were repulsed: their killed and wounded amounted to two hundred men.

The admiral now detached three ships of the line, with orders to lie as close in as possible, and batter the castle; but the Moro being situate on a high and steep rock had little to fear from this attack: whilst on the other hand, the men of war were so much damaged from thence, and from Fort Puntal on the opposite side, that commodore Hervey, who commanded this division, was obliged to withdraw. While this contest lasted, the English, who had by this time opened their batteries on the land-side, poured in an incessant fire upon the castle; but, as soon as the ships retired, the Spaniards answered it briskly: and it was plain that they were resolved on a vigorous defence.

fence. While matters were in this situation, the principal battery of the English blew up; a circumstance very unfortunate, as the season advanced, and fatigue and sickness preyed both upon the soldiers and seamen, while the fleet lay exposed to hurricanes upon an hostile coast. Yet the commanders resolved to persevere; and, by their example, so much animated their men, that new batteries were erected; and they began to gain some advantages over the enemy, whose cannon by degrees were silenced: and at length the English miners, with incredible industry and hazard, made a lodgment under the walls of the castle, from whence the Spaniards found it impossible to drive them. An attempt was also made to take the place by escalade; but the party that had mounted the walls, being discovered before they could be supported, were obliged to return with precipitation. After this, the besiegers were attacked by three bodies of men, under a heavy fire from the forts; but these were repulsed with great slaughter; the former losing but fifty men in the action. At length, two mines were sprung with such success, that a breach was made in the bastion; which being deemed practicable, orders were issued for the assault. The English troops accordingly mounted; and, after a sharp dispute, made good their footing: the Spaniards being driven off with the loss of 150 men. Don Louis de Velafer, who was governor of the fort (the marquis de Gonzalez being blown up when the mines were sprung) being a man of a most intrepid spirit, resolved not to submit nor survive the surrender of the castle: he fell, defending the colours of Spain, after having given signal proofs of the most astonishing bravery. About 400 of
the

the garrison were made prisoners; the rest were either slain in fight, or drowned in attempting to escape to the town. The loss of the English in storming was only two lieutenants and twelve men killed; one lieutenant, four serjeants, and twenty-four men wounded. After a faint resistance, the town surrendered; of which the English took possession on the 14th of August, after a siege of above two months; having lost by sickness 700 men, including 39 officers, and 5 men, comprehending 15 officers by the sword.

The treasures and merchandise which fell into the hands of the English, with the Havannah, are computed to amount to near £300,000 sterling. Of twelve fine ships of war lying in the harbour, three had been sunk by the Spaniards; the other nine, all line of battle ships, were taken: so that this was a capital stroke, from which the enemy had but little hopes to recover.

This year, M. de Tiernay, having got out of Brest in a fog, sailed for Newfoundland; where he took two small settlements, destroyed the stages for curing fish, and, at last, made himself master of St. John's. But, even before an armament could be fitted out from England on this occasion, general Amherst, then commanding in North-America, having advice of this temporary success of the French, detached colonel Amherst with a body of land forces, and lord Colville, who commanded the English squadron there, to recover these settlements. The troops landed, after a short resistance in Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's. The strong post, called Kitty-Vitty, was first taken, sword in hand, as were afterwards two heights that had been fortified by the enemy. The forces encamped in the

neighbourhood of the fort on the 16th of September; and a mortar-battery was completed the next day. Some shallops had been sunk in the harbour, which was commanded by a breast-work, and a battery as yet unfinished. The channel however being opened by the English, colonel Amherst received artillery and stores by water. The French governor had refused to surrender on the first summons; but, observing the works of the besiegers still to advance, on the 10th of October he sent to demand a capitulation; and at length surrendered himself and a fine body of troops, as numerous as the English forces, prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest with the first opportunity that offered. Lord Colville having been driven off the coast by contrary winds, Mr. Tiernay, once more favoured by a fog, put off to sea, and thus saved his little armament. Thus St. John's, and in consequence all the settlements on the coast, were recovered, with the loss of two officers, and about twenty private men; the French being every where defeated.

It would be foreign to our purpose, to mention the successes in Europe, which brought about a peace. The king of Prussia, supported by this country, was enabled to make a stand against all his enemies, and often to conquer them. The British arms were successful, as we have seen in the West-Indies. Pondicherry and other places were subdued in the eastern world. Every one knows the successes of Boscawen and our other gallant admirals. But above all, the defeat of M. Conflans by Sir Edward Hawke, and the destruction of so many fine ships of war, appalled the French, and disposed them at last to peace. The finances of England were indeed reduced; but

but those of France were utterly exhausted; and Spain was in no condition to supply her old ally. A treaty was therefore set on foot, and, after some delays, signed at Paris, in 1763. In this there were some articles favourable to the Prussian monarch: the French consented to return Minorca; Guadaloupe and Martinico were restored to them, and the Havannah to Spain; but Canada was ceded to the British crown for ever.

C H A P. VIII.

Reflections—Origin of the present Contest—Stamp Act passed—Repealed—Fresh Duties—New Disputes—Provincial Congress—General Congress—Conduct of Government—Of the Colonists—Destruction of the Tea—Boston Port-Bill—Battle of Bunker's-Hill—State of Affairs in Canada—Reflections on the American Address to the People of England.

CANADA being ceded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, while she in return gave up Martinico and other conquests, all things were supposed by men of commercial understanding to be settled upon a permanent foundation: but there were some politicians who asserted that they saw deeper into these matters. They said, that the North-Americans, most of them originating from a republican stock, would endeavour to be independent, as soon as the enemy were removed from their frontiers. These men, though they ad-

duced some proofs of the spirit of the colonists from the American history, were only treated as visionaries; but unhappily we have lived to see their prophecies fulfilled in their utmost extent.

The earl of Bute, a minister who, with good designs, was possessed of slender political abilities, being removed from his place, Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury. This gentleman, who had formerly presided at the board of trade, turned his attention towards the increase of the revenue, and the prevention of smuggling. The American colonists were, of all the people in the world, most addicted to contraband trade; of which they would admit of no restriction. They carried on an illicit commerce with the French and Spaniards; and they averred, that it was necessary to their very existence. While the English administration attended to strict justice, and the colonists only to convenience, it was impossible that they should agree in circumstances of this nature. The minister we have mentioned, also planned the stamp-act. The colonists opposed it, by an agreement not to import goods from Great-Britain. The obnoxious act, however, having raised many disturbances in the colonies, especially that of Massachusetts-Bay, was first postponed, and at length repealed; but the repeal was accompanied with a declaration of the right of Great-Britain to tax the people of North-America. The act was repealed by the Rockingham administration. Modern men of all parties seemed rather inclined to think the stamp-act oppressive; and most people at home thought, that the repeal of this act would put the Americans into good humour, and restore all things to their former situation. But the declaration with
which

which it was clogged, and the subsequent port-duties on tea, paper, painter's colours, and glass, still kept up the ferment. Associations were entered into; circular letters were sent from one province to another; and the colonists prepared to work themselves up to that pitch of enthusiasm, which has since proved so injurious to themselves, and to the mother-country.

Governor Bernard at this time gave offence to the Bostonians, by his endeavours to preserve the power with which he was intrusted. Complaints were made in England; the colonists were reminded of their duty, but they answered, "That they were only assiduous in asserting their liberties;" and were deaf to all further remonstrances. Some violent republicans seized a schooner, stationed off Providence in Rhode-Island; and the behaviour of the Bostonians tended to set the whole colony of North-America in a flame. In order to widen the breach, some letters were produced, which involved the governor, and the lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts-Bay, in a charge of having made an unfavourable representation of affairs in that settlement. A very melancholy representation had indeed been made, but it did not exceed the truth; and the reflections were pertinent and just: but such letters were not at this time proper for the public eye. They were pilfered from the post-office, to answer a particular purpose. The consequence was, that the letter being acknowledged, a petition was sent over, requesting his majesty to remove the governor and lieutenant-governor from their places.

In the mean time, a bill passed the two houses, for enabling the East-India company to export their teas, duty free, to all places; and, among the

the rest, to the colonies, where a tax was to be paid on the commodities being landed at the port.

In the present situation of affairs, the company had little to promise themselves from this indulgence. The design was no sooner known in North-America, than all possible means were used to prevent it from taking effect. Hand-bills were dispersed among the people, and every measure used to prevent it's taking place. Three ships, however, laden with tea, on the East-India company's account, at last arrived at Boston. Had their loading been fetters to enthrall, or the most deadly poison to destroy, the inhabitants, they could not have been looked upon with a greater degree of horror. The captains promised, that if they had the concurrence of the consignees, the board of customs, and the fort of Castle-William, they would return with their cargoes; but, as these conditions could not be complied with, they were obliged to abide the fury of an incensed people; which was discharged upon them in the following manner:—As soon as the Bostonians were assured that the tea must be landed (forgetting that the matter was of little consequence, if they were all firmly resolved, according to agreement, not to purchase it) they sent a number of armed men on board the vessels to effect it's destruction. These people came in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, (a sure proof that the whole was the result of deliberation) and within a few hours discharged the cargoes of the vessels into the sea; the royal power not daring, and the civil not chusing, to resist them.

This outrage upon private property, and resistance to all legal government, occasioned what was called the *Boston Port-Bill* to be afterwards passed in

in England, as well as another act, entitled, *For the better regulating the Government of Massachusetts-Bay*; in which some alterations of the charter, as granted by king William, were made : and this was succeeded by a third, entitled, *A Bill for the impartial Administration of Justice, in the Cases of Persons questioned for any Acts done by them in the Execution of the Laws, or for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England*. This last bill, which passed on the 6th of May, provides, " That in case any person is indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, " and that it shall appear to the governor that a " fair trial cannot be had in the province; then " he shall send the person so indicted to any other " colony, or to Great-Britain, to be tried: the " charges on both sides to be borne out of the " customs." This act was to continue for four years.

Towards the close of this session was also passed, the Quebec act, for the relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Canada; by which, persons of that persuasion were entitled to a seat in the council; and all the catholic clergy, except the regulars, were confirmed in their estates and claims to tythes, from their respective parishes.

These acts, however just in themselves, as they were not supported by any considerable force, tended only still more to increase the disturbances of the Americans; who were, or pretended to be, alarmed at every idle report. At one time they were told that their whole constitution was to be subverted, and their resentment rose accordingly; at another, that the New-England capital was to be laid in ashes; and a mad multitude

titude prepared to march to the relief of the city, which was not intended to be injured. A riot, which had prevailed there, wherein some rash persons were slain, for which a captain was tried for his life, but acquitted, was afterwards denominated *The Massacre of Boston*.

At a time so critical as this, it was not to be supposed that general Gage, who succeeded the late governor, could find himself at all at ease. The act of parliament having appointed a new council to be summoned by *mandamus*, the members were for the most part terrified from attending. The juries refused to be sworn in under the new judges; the custom-house officers fled from Salem (the port appropriated by government) to Boston for safety; as some of them, as well as others, had been seized, carted, tarred and feathered; and their lives threatened by the populace.

General Gage, observing that the populace, apprehensive of a surprise, were ready to rise on every occasion, had caused cannon to be planted on Boston-Neck. This was construed into a design of destroying innocent people, and some remonstrances were presented to his excellency on the occasion; who answered, that he had no such ideas, but that the guns which were placed there were planted only for security, and would annoy none that passed peaceably to and fro upon their lawful business.

But this was of little consequence; the people, who had before met at Liberty-tree, now entered into a solemn league and covenant, and held more frequent meetings in different parts of the province; and in the midst of the confusion another circumstance happened which greatly deranged the measures

measures of the governor. After having dissolved the general assembly, he had issued writs for convening a new one; but on second thoughts countermanded it by proclamation. This assembly, however, met according to his first precept at Salem, where having waited a day for the governor, and as he did not appear, nor any one to administer the oaths, they therefore now voted themselves a Provincial Congress, and adjourned to the town of Concord, from whence they sent a remonstrance to the governor, concerning the breaches of the American charter, who in his turn remonstrated to them on the unconstitutional manner in which they had met, as not having the sanction of legal authority.

In the winter, barracks were erected for the troops; but it was with the greatest difficulty, as few workmen durst accept of employment, and few of the American natives were found willing and hardy enough to furnish materials for sheltering a body of men that were looked upon as enemies to the country.

The provincial congress breaking up, recommended many things to the people, which they meant should militate against the interests of Great-Britain; not doubting but their advice and recommendation would be considered to be more binding than any law which could be enacted at such a time. The governor issued his proclamation against these proceedings; but it tended only to increase the confusion. A general congress was appointed by the Americans, and many moderate persons hoped that such an assembly might be competent to the redress of all grievances, and the re-establishment of harmony with the mother country.

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The

The deputies of the twelve colonies who sent members to the congress, were differently instructed by their constituents, as some were more violent, others more moderate; but these seemed to agree in two maxims: the one was, to assert the right of the Americans to hold their own charter, and to tax themselves; the other, to acknowledge their dependence upon the crown of Great-Britain, and their natural connexion with the parent-state: but on the whole, each separate colony charged it's delegates to acquiesce with what should be determined by the majority.

The first act of the congress was, to declare their approbation of the proceedings of the colony of Massachusset's-Bay; a sufficient earnest of what was to be expected from them in future. They then went on to constitute some further regulations, as if all government had been dissolved, or already solely vested in themselves. They issued orders which the people in general obeyed; even those who were otherwise inclined, not daring to dispute them, lest they should be publicly declared enemies to their country, as they well knew what would be the consequence of such a declaration.

In the mean time, the power of Great-Britain extended not further than the limits of Boston, which contained also many thousands of refractory inhabitants, whom, though one would at first be led to imagine, the governor would have been glad to get rid of; yet it is generally supposed that he was inclined to keep them there, while by degrees he fortified the place, that they might serve as hostages, for his better security from any acts of violence that might be offered in the adjacent country.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the Americans still professed, that they meant to demean themselves as peaceable and loyal subjects of the crown of Great-Britain; yet as the governor perceived they were disposed every where to arm themselves, he therefore endeavoured to seize upon the arms and ammunition of the province, where he could find an opportunity.

A party having been sent out for this purpose to a spot distant from Boston, came to a place where they were interrupted by a stream, over which there was a bridge; but the inhabitants had drawn it up on their approach, insisting that this was a private road, along which they had no right to pass. The governor's people asserted the contrary, and were preparing to send for boats; nay, some leaped into the water, on this occasion, with the most undaunted resolution: for the soldiers had by this time received so many insults from the people in the execution of their duty, that they began to conceive a hatred against them on that account; while the native Americans had in their turn been taught to consider the troops as mere ruffians, and the vile instruments, in the hands of ministers, to reduce them and their posterity to the most abject slavery. But, while this dispute was in it's height, the country people collecting around, and all things verging towards extremes, a worthy clergyman desired a conference with the officer who commanded the British detachment. In the course of their conversation, the former discerned that the latter rather insisted on passing this river, as a point of honour and obedience of orders, than with a view of executing a commission which it was now too late for him to attempt. In consequence of this, the
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country people were persuaded to let down the draw-bridge, over which the troops passed, advanced a little way, effected nothing, and returned without interruption.

Thus was this dispute ended without bloodshed, but not at all to the governor's advantage, whose design was frustrated; and who began now to see, that the flame of discord was not only kindled amongst a few, but had spread itself far and wide, and must indeed be very difficult to extinguish. What still further convinced him of this melancholy truth, was, his receiving advice that the people of Rhode-Island had seized the ordnance and royal stores there; and that the southern colonies were every day more and more in commotion; declaring, that they looked upon it as their duty to assist, and to stand or fall by their brethren of Massachusetts-Bay. It was well known, likewise, that the provincials were continually entering into private associations among themselves; and were projecting manufactories of salt-petre, and founderies for the casting of cannon, where they had not an opportunity of seizing on those belonging to government.

In 1775, the provincial congress was held at the town of Concord; where a considerable quantity of military stores was collected. General Gage being apprized of this circumstance, sent a detachment of 900 men from Boston, to seize upon those stores, which he conceived to be collected for the sole purpose of opposing government. The detachment marched accordingly; guns were fired, and alarm-bells were rung; while the troops advanced towards Lexington; where, finding a body of militia assembled, they ordered them to disperse. This seems to have been

been as it were a signal for an engagement. It is uncertain which of the parties fired first; but, as things were brought to such a crisis, we cannot wonder that such an event took place on either side. Several of the militia however were killed and wounded; and the royal forces proceeded to Concord, in order to destroy some cannon and stores, which in part they effected: but the dispute was afterwards renewed at a bridge, of which the light-infantry had possessed themselves when they first advanced, but where they now again engaged the militia, and seem to have suffered some loss in their retreat. The detachment was now attacked on all sides; not only openly, but from meeting-houses and dwelling-houses, from behind walls and other coverts. Fortunately, lord Percy had been sent to re-inforce them; who, arriving at this juncture, with his fresh troops and two field pieces, kept the Americans at some distance, till the king's forces had made good their retreat through Charles-Town to Boston.

This was in effect the commencement of hostilities between Great-Britain and her colonies. In the mean time, the colonists petition being rejected at home, drove them to the extreme of phrenzy. The next action which deserves remembrance, was that of Bunker's-Hill; which, as a certain popular gentleman has said, was near deciding at one blow the fate of the British empire in America.

It is to be observed, that on the one hand the provincials had contrived to surprise Crown-Point and Ticonderago, the frontiers of Canada; whilst, on the other hand, a reinforcement of troops, under the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston, which was at this time block-

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aded by a vast body of the Americans, which, it is probable, they would at first have attempted to storm, had it not been for the excellent train of artillery in the place, and the number of ships of war and armed vessels which almost surrounded the peninsula. About the same time, the general congress resolved; that the compact between the colonies and the British government was broken by the tyranny of the latter, and the government had declared the insurgents Rebels; offering, however, a pardon to all that should submit, John Hancock and Samuel Adams excepted; an exception certainly most imprudent, as it must naturally drive those men to despair, and render them particularly active in enflaming the minds of an already enraged people.

It was in this situation of things that the battle of Bunker's-Hill was fought; of which the following description will give the reader a just idea.

In 1775, the provincials, who had not as yet occupied Charles-Town, beginning now to think this a place of consequence, sent under covert of the night, a body of men thither, with orders to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground, that lies just within the isthmus or neck of land, that joins the peninsula to the continent. This peninsula is similar to that on which Boston stands, only that the isthmus is wider, and that Bunker's-Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter; Charles-River only separates the towns, and is there about the same breadth as the Thames between London and Southwark; so that Charles-Town had much the same connexion with Boston, as the borough here has with the city.

The works were carried on with silence; so that no discovery was made during the night, though

though the ships of war surrounded them. This party had used such dispatch, that they had nearly finished a redoubt, intrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof, by break of day. The sight of those, first struck the officers and crew of the king's ship, the Lively, whose guns called the town, camp, and fleet, to behold a sight so extraordinary. Immediately a smart fire from the town, the ships, and the floating batteries, was begun upon those new-raised works, which the provincials stood better than could have been expected: but about noon, general Gage ordered a considerable body of troops to be embarked, under the command of major general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, to drive the provincials from their works. But the generals soon after found the enemy so numerous, that they sent for a re-inforcement, which accordingly arrived before they proceeded to the attack, which was a severe discharge of cannon and howitzers, chiefly intended to ruin the American works. In the mean time, the provincials threw a body into Charles-Town, which much disconcerted the advancing army; but, just at a critical moment, some carcasses, as it was generally supposed, set that town on fire. The provincials, now in the heat of their zeal, and first hurry of their spirit, behaved with great courage and resolution, much more than they have in general displayed in their actions since, during the course of the American war, in so much that it's said, general Howe was for some seconds lost. At this instant, general Clinton came up, and encouraged the troops to charge; the consequence was, that they advanced with their bayonets fixed, drove the Americans from their

their works, and gained a complete, though a bloody and dear-bought victory.

The British troops, after this action, encamped on the spot where Charles-Town stood, the very mother of Boston; once containing 400 houses, but now become a heap of ruins. One lieutenant-colonel, two majors, seven captains, and seventy other officers were wounded; lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, and the brave major Pitcairne perished here; and the whole loss in killed and wounded on the royal side, amounted to 1054. The provincials say, they lost not one-third of the number; but it appears that they were severely handled. The British officers signalized themselves remarkably upon this occasion. About thirty prisoners were taken, and five pieces of cannon, out of six which the provincials had brought to this post, were taken. How many were killed on their side is uncertain. They say their whole loss amounted only to 450 men.

Several skirmishes then followed, chiefly originating from the want of forage, while the troops were cooped up in Boston. In one of these, the guard-house; in another, the light-house was destroyed. The contest in these cases was unequal. The king's troops were well disciplined; but the Americans had the advantage of numbers, and the command of the open country. A partial prædatory war commenced, and many of the small towns suffered in the contest.

In the mean time, the indulgences granted to the Canadians by the Quebec act already mentioned, did not operate in such a manner as might have been expected. General Carleton, who commanded in Canada, supposed that he could easily have raised a formidable force in that country, with

with which he might have over-awed, and at proper opportunities penetrated into, the New-England provinces; but the provincials there, answered only, that they would defend the country if attacked, but were unwilling to march out of it. This was the general opinion; but the noblesse were inclined to favour the British cause.

An application was made to the Indians, but they had already been addressed by the agents of the congress; so that not knowing what part to take, they at this time seemed resolved to stand neuter, expressing themselves in terms very respectful to the British nation; but observing, that though they were sorry, that parents and children should dispute, and they being no judges, it was not proper for them to take an active part in the quarrel.

Though the congress at this time reprobated the idea of independence; yet they gave hints of assistance from foreign powers, and treated with the greatest contempt the plan formed by government for reconciling matters; while they thought proper, at the same time, to send an address to the people of England at large, whom they wished in a manner, somewhat extraordinary, to interest in their favour.

But it was too late for addresses, or remonstrances; the sword was drawn, and that alone could now decide the contest: perhaps the Americans thought so; but they were disposed at this late period, to give the world an idea of their candour and moderation. However, they met with no success in their attempt, as they might easily have foreseen; yet, perhaps, it answered the purpose of attempting to justify their proceedings to the world, and in that respect might be looked upon as a manifesto, calculated for the information

tion of foreign nations, more than an address to the people of England. They had also addressed the Canadians, and though they exclaimed against the bill, commonly call the Quebec Act, which tolerated the catholic religion; yet in this public instrument of theirs, they affected to treat them as brethren, and exhorted them to join in the common cause, without attending to religious distinctions. This the Americans termed policy; but their adversaries gave it another name; they called it duplicity.

As to the people of England, the generality of them judged as party led them. Those who gloried in the name of Whigs, having already declared against administration, were inclined to favour the colonies; while those who were distinguished by the appellation of Tories, were equally sanguine against them. There were not wanting able politicians to draw the pen on either side, and the press groaned with publications of this sort. In the mean time, government was greatly embarrassed, and moderate thinking persons looked forward with apprehensions for the events of the unhappy contest.

C H A P. IX.

General Washington appointed Commander--Sketches of his Life and Character--Invasion of Canada--Forts taken--Quebec besieged by Montgomery--His Defeat and Death--Gen. Carleton's Conduct--Further Attempts of the Provincials--Succours arrive from England--The Siege raised--Canada entirely recovered by the Royal Army--Blockade of Boston continued--An Ordnance Ship seized--Bombardment of the Town--General Howe evacuates Boston, and withdraws to Halifax.

THE congress now declared, that as the sword was drawn, they would not sheath it till they had made the strongest efforts to recover those rights which, they said, the British ministry had been so intent upon wresting from them. As they had been for some time busied in military arrangements, so they had not been wanting in appointing generals to head their troops. Israel Putnam had commanded in the action at Bunker's-Hill; but the principal dependence of the colonists was upon major-general Washington, of whose name the reader may remember we have made mention in our account of the war with the French in Canada.

This gentleman's family was originally descended from Lincolnshire, but removed to Coventry, where Mr. Washington was born, the 3d of September, in the year 1727. His mother was descended from the famous general Monk, afterwards created duke of Albemarle, by king Charles II. who was much obliged to him for his

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restoration.

restoration. Mr. Washington was a private volunteer in Wade's regiment in 1746: he served against the rebels, and afterwards travelled into foreign countries; but when the war broke out in 1755, he crossed the Atlantic, and became a major of the provincial forces raised against the French in America. He at length obtained a regiment there; but when peace was concluded, retired to cultivate an estate which he had purchased in Virginia. For this province he was chosen as one of the delegates to the congress, it being well known that he was well affected to the American cause. That assembly afterwards appointed him commander in chief; but there appears somewhat indicating their jealousy of power in whomsoever it might be vested, when we observe, that in their address to him, on conferring this high office upon him, they tell him, they trust that when those ends are obtained for which they took up arms, he will return to the station of a private citizen again. They have, indeed, now altered the object which they first declared they had in view. Should they ever obtain the end for which now they wage war, it remains only for time to determine whether their general will comply with their wishes, and adhere to what he himself has promised.

This commander, together with general Lee, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter, arrived on the 6th of July at the camp before Boston, where, by this time, about 18,000 men were assembled; and there were inrolled upon paper upwards of 200,000 men in the different provinces, which, as Georgia acceded to the league, were now stiled the Thirteen United States of America, and shortly after changed their red
flag

flag of defiance, for one that had thirteen stripes, which has ever since been regarded as their badge of distinction.

For the present, these generals, who were received with the highest degree of respect, could do nothing more than continue the blockade of Boston, 1775, which lasted through the remainder of this, and a part of the succeeding year: both the besiegers and the besieged suffering greatly on the occasion; the former, as men not inured to the hardships of war; the latter, as being cut off from all communication with the open country, endeavouring in vain to draw subsistence from the neighbouring colonies and from the West-Indies, and depending for all their supplies of food and every thing else from England, where the transports intended to relieve them were detained by contrary winds, great part of the live stock destroyed, and the vegetables corrupted, before the vessels could reach the desired haven.

In the midst of these distresses, the commanders endeavoured to keep up the spirits of the people. A patrol was appointed to scour the streets nightly. The fortifications raised on the ruins of Charles-Town were so much strengthened, that they were deemed impregnable; and in the midst of this scene, an old meeting-house being converted into a playhouse, several comic pieces were represented there, and, among the rest, one that was called, *The blockade of Boston*, which was calculated indeed to ridicule the enemy; but upon the whole, might be considered as an extraordinary mode that people had adopted of sporting with their own misfortunes.

In the mean time, the congress having been successful in the reduction of Ticonderago and

Crown-Point, resolved to pursue their design of penetrating into the very heart of Canada; and thus at once to change the ground upon which they had taken up arms, when they declared they fought not for *Conquest*, but for *Liberty*; however, they reconciled this contradiction by urging, that should they not adopt such a measure, they might perhaps soon see an army of Canadians and Indians carrying all the horrors of war into New-England. Whatever were their motives, the generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, and other forces, set out upon this expedition. Montgomery passed the Lakes, published a proclamation, inviting the Canadians to join him, and pushed for St. John's Island, of which, however, they could not make themselves masters at that time for want of a proper supply of ordnance and ammunition. In the mean while, as the provincial parties were dispersed over the country, Ethan Allen, who, though he had no commission from the congress, had been concerned in the expedition across the Lakes, endeavoured to surprise the town of Montreal, which he meant to plunder, but was attacked by the militia, defeated, and sent prisoner to England.

Schuyler had returned to Albany upon the retreat from Fort St. John's; and Montgomery found it so well defended, that he turned his thoughts to attack the smaller fort of Chamble, which being soon surrendered to him, furnished him with the very articles which he wanted: he then resumed his former situation before St. John's, which was surrendered to him after an obstinate defence. Here he received news that general Carleton had been defeated at Longueville,
and

and that colonel M'Lean, with a regiment called the Highland Emigrants, had failed in his attempts to join him. After the reduction of St. John's, Montgomery marched to Montreal, which surrendered on terms of capitulation. In the mean time, Arnold proceeded with all expedition towards Quebec, from another quarter, towards which general Carleton had retired, where the force assembled was by no means adequate to the defence of a place of such consequence.

The appearance of Arnold before this capital struck many with dread, and all with astonishment; discontents prevailed in the city; few offered to defend it, and still fewer were to be depended upon; nor were there any troops in the place till M'Lean's highland emigrants made good their retreat thither.

Arnold summoned the town; but the people being recovered from their surprise, no answer was given: he retreated to his camp just as Carleton arrived, and matters began to wear a serious aspect. Soon after, Montgomery having quitted Montreal, joined the provincials; but general Carleton seeing the state of affairs, ordered all who had refused to defend the place to quit it, and embodied about 1500 men, scarcely any of whom could be called regulars, except one company of the 7th regiment, and these were mostly new recruits. The most serviceable of all included in this number, were 450 seamen drawn from the king's frigates and merchantmen lying in the harbours; yet with this force the general was resolved to defend the city, refused to receive any summons or message, and baffled the attempts of the enemy..

H. 3.

Montgomery

Montgomery intended to take the place by escalade; but in this he was disappointed. At length a general attack was resolved on, which took place during a snow storm; advancing through a narrow defile, he forced a barrier that appeared well guarded; advancing to a second, where several pieces loaden with grape-shot were planted, he was slain, and numbers of his followers cut off. Arnold attacking another quarter, was wounded, the greater part of his soldiers were taken prisoners, and the rest retreated in confusion; though Carleton deemed it improper in these circumstances to hazard any thing by pursuing them.

The prisoners were treated by general Carleton with the greatest tenderness, which shewed, that notwithstanding his severity, he was sensible to the feelings of humanity.

Arnold however continued the siege, and Carleton continued his defence with equal obstinacy, and all supplies were hindered from entering the town. They now attempted with shells and red hot balls to destroy the city; but in this they failed: the small-pox broke out among them, and their number was reduced to less than 700 men: at this juncture, however, a party headed by M. Beaulieu, with a design of raising the siege, was encountered and dispersed by the rebels.

But this was their last success. The long expected succours from England arrived. The *Isis* man of war and two frigates broke through the ice with difficulty, at a time when the passage was deemed impracticable. Some troops were landed, and on the sight of these the Americans abandoned their camp, artillery, and military stores, and retired with the utmost precipitation.

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No praise could be superior to that which Carleton deserved for his fortitude: with a spirit which might have done honour to an old Roman, he defended a city ill fortified, and worse supplied; and after an inevitable defeat in the field, shewed that he was determined to defend his sacred charge, and proved himself alike superior to the open force, and the insidious wiles of the enemy, who sometimes attempted to storm, and often, by their arts, to win the city. But when all these were evaded by this determined chief, they were obliged to be content with turning the siege into a sort of blockade, whereby they might straiten and incommode the garrison and the citizens at this inclement season.

General Carleton knowing what sort of enemies he had to deal with, and not depending on the fidelity of the inhabitants, was resolved to receive no messages. He had even fired upon a flag of truce; but in this conduct he was justified by his critical situation.

The 17th of March being St. Patrick's day, it was generally supposed that M'Lean's corps would spend it in mirth and festivity. This the enemy expected; but the governor resolved to guard against the danger. He published a proclamation which some people laughed at, and said it was truly Irish; but it certainly had a good English meaning. By this proclamation St. Patrick's day was deferred till the middle of May, by which time succours might be reasonably expected from England. The Irish people were not displeased; and the Americans, who were already fatigued, and had been so often baffled, met with a fresh disappointment.

At length, towards the close of the year 1776, the *Isis*, together with two frigates, arrived with reinforcements from England. They made their way through the ice, which still partly covered St. Laurence's river; and a small reinforcement was immediately thrown into the town, with a promise of an immediate more powerful succour: thus encouraged, the garrison assumed fresh spirits, and the governor resolved not to lose the advantage. A sally was made; the enemy were found already retreating, and retired so precipitately that they left their artillery, stores, and baggage, behind them; but were too expeditious in their retreat for any execution to be done among them: they left, however, numbers of their sick behind them. At the same time, general Carleton, who, though severe as a soldier, was humane as a man, issued the following proclamation on the occasion:

"Whereas I am informed that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them; all reasonable expences which may be incurred, by complying with this order, shall be repaid by the receiver-general.

"And lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation

" situation may require, I hereby make known to
" them, that as soon as their health is restored,
" they shall have free liberty to return to their
" respective provinces.

" Given under my hand and seal of arms, at the
" castle of St. Louis, and city of Quebec, this
" 10th day of May 1776.

" GUY CARLETON."

The promise given in the above declaration was strictly adhered to, and all who claimed the benefit of it, were received into the hospital; and such of them as were cured, were sent back as soon as they chose, to return to their families and friends.

The siege of Quebec thus raised, the provincials continued their retreat till they came to the banks of the river Sorel. In the mean time, general Carleton, being reinforced by English and Brunswickers, found himself at the head of 13,000 men, with which force he was resolved to pursue his good fortune, and endeavour to clear Canada entirely of the enemy. The general rendezvous of the royal army was at Trois-Rivieres, a place which lies in the mid-way between Quebec and Montreal, being ninety miles from each. Here the provincials laid a plan for surprising the British forces; but it miscarried, and the assailants retired quite disheartened by that circumstance. General Burgoyne, who had arrived with the forces from England, marched forward, towards Montreal, which he found the enemy had abandoned, and from thence proceeded to St. John's, where the rest of the army was to join him. When he arrived there, he found the buildings in flames, and every thing that could not be carried off, destroyed

stroyed by the provincials, who acted in the same manner at Chamble, and then continued their retreat or flight to Lake Champlain, on which they embarked their men, and bore away immediately for Crown Point. Thus was all Canada recovered from the Americans, who met with nothing but loss, misfortunes, and disgrace, from the hour that they rose from before Quebec, till they totally evacuated the province.

We have given the detail of this expedition entire, without breaking in upon the narrative with the relation of what passed in other parts of America; but we shall now return to the affairs of New-England, where we left Boston closely blockaded by the rebels, whose privateers and whale-boats were very troublesome, in annoying and sometimes taking the store-ships, in the very sight of our people. Among the rest, they captured one vessel which had on board a large mortar and several pieces of brass cannon, together with a quantity of arms and ammunition, and all sorts of implements and materials proper for camps and artillery; all this was directly what they wanted. And as general Washington had just received orders to push the siege with vigour, he determined to alter the plan of operations; and in the beginning of March 1776, began to think of bombarding the city. Accordingly, in the night of the 2d of March, a battery was opened at a place called Phipps's-Farm, near the water-side, which did considerable damage to the quarter against which it was directed. And on the 5th of the same month, while their attention was yet called to this recent misfortune, they found that other works were also raised upon the heights of Dorchester-point, on the other side of the town,

town, from whence a twenty-four pound bomb battery soon afterwards discharged it's fury.

Thus attacked on all sides, in want of provision, and almost every necessary, and having received no advices from England since the month of October, the commander in chief began to think himself deserted; he resolved, however, in this perilous situation, to make one effort to avert the present danger. That very evening, he made preparations for the embarkation of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, in order to dislodge the enemy from those heights. In all probability this would have brought on a general engagement, which, considering the situation of our troops, might have terminated in the favour of their enemies; but a violent storm prevented this measure from taking place, till this work was strengthened by others, and the fortifications so well disposed, that it must have been the height of madness to have attempted an assault in that quarter.

In the mean time, the fire of the enemy increased, and their shells sometimes reached the very centre of Boston; their friends and enemies were alike exposed to the danger, and matters became so desperate, nothing remained for the general but to quit the place, and retreat to the shipping in the harbour, in as good order as possible. Accordingly, preparations were made for this purpose, with all convenient expedition, while the enemy continued in their works, without giving the British army the least molestation while they were embarking; a circumstance which has occasioned some to assert, that there was an agreement for this purpose, made between the two commanders; but this the ministry absolutely

denied. Perhaps there was no such actual agreement; but probably it might be whispered to the select men, that if the troops were annoyed, Boston would inevitably be laid in ashes: whereas, if they were permitted to depart quietly, they would do no damage to the persons or private property of any body; and the select being permitted to acquaint Washington of this, it might well be supposed to produce the desired effect.

However, though general Howe was not molested by the enemy, he was greatly incumbered by his friends. It would have been cruel to leave those behind him who had taken shelter under his power: so that these crowded the transports, and at the same time they appeared as men compelled to quit their native country, and to wander in search of new habitations; while the sick, wounded, infirm persons, and women, were at once the objects of pity and attention. Cares succeeded to cares; and the general, though he appeared to bear all with firmness, could not but be under great vexation and embarrassment of mind, when he reflected on his situation, and the voyage he had to make, Halifax being the desired port; and the seas in these parts, at this season of the year, being generally tempestuous; besides; when all was done, he was going just so much out of his way, as he designed for New-York, and from thence to endeavour penetrating into the more southern colonies.

Before his departure, having called in his outposts, he demolished Castle-William, in the vicinity; lest the enemy, by taking possession of that fortress, should annoy the shipping.

As soon as the English had embarked, general Washington marched into the town, with drums beating

beating and colours flying; and was received by the people as their deliverer. Every thing assumed a new aspect; and the place was afterwards fortified in such a manner, that the provincials affect now to deem it impregnable.

It has already been observed, that the flame kindled at Boston had quickly spread itself to the more southern colonies. New-York at first seemed to favour government; but some Connecticut men inflaming the people with an exaggerated account of the affair of Lexington, and as the place had been left almost without defence, (though it would have been more prudent to have secured that city, than make an attempt to keep Boston) the discontented party rose, and seized the arms; and all regular government was soon at an end. New-York had at first disapproved the measure of appointing a congress.

C H A P. X.

Disturbances in Virginia and the Carolinas—Lord Dunmore's Conduct and Distress—General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker arrive before Charles-Town—The Ships pass the Bar—Unsuccessful Attack on Sullivan's Island—The Fleet and Transports return.

THOUGH the Virginians were not actually affected by those grievances, which the New-England men stated in such glaring colours, yet they had been as forward in sending delegates

to the general congress. Order had, however, for some time prevailed in the internal affairs of the province; but, on a prorogation of their assembly by lord Dunmore, their governor, without renewing the militia laws, a provincial congress was held, wherein it was resolved to array the militia by their own authority. This interference alarming his lordship, he caused most of the gunpowder, then in the magazine at Williamsburg, to be removed on ship-board under covert of the night. The people took fire at this necessary precaution; armed, and sent to demand of their governor why he had removed the powder; he gave them several plausible reasons: they dispersed; but armed again, under pretence that parties were marching from the vessels to attack the town. From this time they kept up strong night-patroles, as they said, to protect the magazine from any future insults.

Incensed at the behaviour of the people, and suspicious of their designs, the governor threatened to set up the royal standard, to disfranchise the province; and dropped several expressions in his anger, which were never forgotten by the subjects of his government.

Lord Dunmore now called a general assembly; but, entertaining apprehensions for the safety of his person, retired on board his ship, whither he had before sent his family, and from whence he refused to return to Williamsburg to give his assent to the bills which they had passed: this, they said, was a high breach of the constitution—they would not attend him on board a vessel of war. Both parties were resolute; every day widened the breach, till, at length, the assembly broke up; and, a convention of delegates being appointed, the people

people were armed on one side, whilst, on the other, lord Dunmore declared the negroes free, and assembled what force he could; and it was not long before hostilities commenced.

The town of New-Hampshire was attacked by the royalists, but they were repulsed by a body of provincials from the neighbouring country: various skirmishes ensued; till, at length, the governor landed, and took post at Norfolk, the most loyal town, and one of the finest in the province. Here the people in general were loyal; and here his lordship fortified a post on a bridge. An American force appeared; soon after the royalists attacked them, but were defeated; the negroes doing them more harm than good: and the place was immediately abandoned, together with a few pieces of cannon, and a small quantity of provisions, to the conquering enemy.

Again the governor retired on board his ship: but the town being now in possession of the rebels, they refused to supply him with provisions, and fired on the vessels. Impatient of this treatment, a body of sailors landed, and set fire to such houses as were nearest to the water-side; either the rebels themselves fired the rest, or the flames spread of themselves, in such a manner, as to reduce the whole town to ashes.

In the mean time, a scheme had been set on foot for raising the Indians and back settlers, but it miscarried: and one Conolly, who was employed in the scheme, being taken in Maryland, his papers were published by the congress.

From this time, success attended the provincials in Virginia; and after some fruitless overtures towards a reconciliation, their governor prepared to abandon the province; and, after meeting with a storm,

storm, his people's enduring a pestilential fever, and some other disagreeable incidents, at last proceeded on his voyage, and arrived safe in England.

In South-Carolina, there had arisen a set of people called Regulators, who were formerly declared enemies to legal authority, and had been chastised by governor Tryon. Lord William Campbell, the present governor, at this time was supposed to hold a correspondence with those people, and with the Indians; which the subjects of his government declared to be of a dangerous nature. Whether the information was true or false, it excited a great ferment among the people, and occasioned the governor to retire on board a ship of war, while the provincials fortified Charles-Town; on which they expected an attack would be made, as soon as forces could be sent over from England.

The transports and victuallers, and indeed our fleet in general, sent out to America, had met with such delays on the one hand, and such bad weather on the other, that they scarcely ever arrived in due time. Though the parliament, in spite of all the supporters of the Americans on this side the water, had declared them rebels, and passed a vote to support his majesty in reducing them to obedience; though forces were everywhere in England ordered to be raised, and Hessians and Brunswickers had been hired; yet, at first (as is generally the case in mixed governments) things went on but slowly; at least, as far as respected the principal objects of operation. Sir Peter Parker's squadron, which had sailed at the close of the last year, did not arrive off Cape Fear till the beginning of May; where they were detained till the end of the month. Here they found

found general Clinton, who had visited New-York, and had proceeded from thence to Virginia, where he saw lord Dunmore : but, finding his forces too small to effect any thing at either of these places, had come thither, in order to wait for them. General Howe had before this time evacuated Boston, as has been already mentioned.

The fleet proceeded towards Charles-Town, and passed the bar of that harbour ; there they found general Lee was the commander ; and directed their attack against a fort, as yet unfinished, on the south-west point of Sullivan's Island.

General Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and general Vaughan, commanded the army, which was landed upon Long-Island, separated from Sullivan's Island, as it was said, only by shoals, and a small creek which was fordable, it's depth being only eighteen inches at low-water.

In the mean time, Moultrie, who had the charge of the fort, and Lee, who commanded in the open country, took measures proper for the occasion. Works were raised nearly opposite to the place where the British troops meant to effect their passage ; and an army was kept up on the continent, from whence they might continually be reinforced.

The attack began by the thunder of our bombs and great guns ; the Americans returned a heavy discharge, and fired many red-hot balls, which failed not of doing execution. Our sea-officers behaved most gallantly, and our ships suffered greatly in the conflict. The brave captain Morris, having his arm shattered by a ball, submitted to an amputation ; after which he insisted on being brought on deck, where he was shot through the body : dying, he recommended his wife and family

mily to his king and country ; and his sovereign executed the charge as became a British monarch.

The guns of the fort were at one time silenced, as it has since appeared, for want of powder ; but no troops appeared to take possession of the place. The firing recommenced, and our ships were much shattered, while the low construction of the fort was such, that most of our shot went over it. Three frigates, the Sphynx, Syren, and Acteon, intended to be stationed to prevent any attempts of fire-ships to incommode us during the attack, were unskillfully piloted, in such a manner as to be near upon the shoals : the two former were got off with difficulty, while the latter was burnt, to prevent her being seized by the enemy. In this situation, having looked in vain to the eastward, from which quarter the admiral expected to see the land-forces commence their operations ; at length, night coming on, and the tide of ebb being almost wasted, he retired from the scene of disappointment ; having had 175 men killed, and 170 wounded, in this engagement.

Various have been the conjectures concerning the inactivity of our troops on this occasion. We have been told, that instead of the creek being fordable, it was not possible to pass it but in boats ; a sufficient number of which could not be furnished : but, as the generals remained eight or nine days upon this island, it would be a strange supposition to imagine they were so totally uninformed. On the whole, it seems more reasonable to conclude, that the works raised to prevent their landing, were such as rendered it imprudent for them to make any attempt of this nature. However that was, general Clinton has severely felt the sarcasm thrown out on this occasion ; nor
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can we conceive him, as a generous man, to have been insensible to the loss sustained by our brave seamen in this dreadful conflict.

In the mean time, the ill-grounded suspicions of the people on the one hand, and Mr. Martin's distrust of them on the other, had occasioned him, after issuing a proclamation, which was burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to remove on board a ship lying in Cape-Fear river. He likewise applied to the Regulators, and also to the highlanders; they accepted commissions from him, and fought in his cause, but were defeated; and thus his power was at an end in that province.

While these things were passing, the congress having fitted out five privateers (or ships of war, as they called them) under command of Mr. Hopkins, sailed for the Bahama-Islands; where they stripped the principal one, called Providence, of all its artillery and stores, but were disappointed of the powder, which was the article they were most in want of; the governor having sent away 150 barrels of this commodity the evening before they landed.



C H A P. XI.

Commissioners appointed to treat with the Rebels—General Howe leaves Halifax, and arrives at Staten-Island, where he is joined by his Brother with the Fleet and Reinforcement from England—Fruitless Overtures towards a Reconciliation—Americans defeated at Long-Island—Conference with a Congress Committee—New-York taken—Lord Cornwallis advances into the Jerseys—The British Troops take possession of Rhode-Island.

IN the midst of these troubles, bill after bill had been passed in England against the provincials; but there was one called a Conciliatory Bill, that appeared rather favourable to them, as suspending the taxation which had been formerly enforced. Of this last, the congress took little notice; but they made sufficient observations upon the others, to detach the people of America from their obedience, and indeed from all regard to the mother-country.

Having thus prepared them for every future impression, a circular letter, penned as a manifesto, was sent through all the colonies, stating their grievances, with the little likelihood there was of obtaining redress; and exhorting them to concur in the establishment of a new form of government, as the old was virtually (they said) and ought actually to be, dissolved, on account of its imperfection, and the various oppressions attempted to be put in practice under its sanction.

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It has been a matter of wonder to many, how the North-American colonies, having each a separate interest, could all so cordially unite against the mother-country: but, if we believe those politicians who have asserted, that our colonists aimed for a long time at shaking off the British government, the matter will be easily accounted for; and, when the bickerings broke out between them and the parent-state, it is reasonable to suppose, that, entertaining such ideas, they all joined hand and heart, looking upon Great-Britain not as a nursing-mother, but as a common enemy.

However that might be, the congress resolved in general to shake off all dependence. They were aware perhaps of meeting with some opposition in executing this their favourite scheme; but they were resolved to pursue it.

In Pensylvania the Quakers had declared against resistance, and were much oppressed on that account; and, though the then assembly talked of a redress of grievances, they did not entertain an idea of a separation. In Maryland, the delegates were instructed, by a majority of seven counties to four, to declare against independence: but both these provinces at last thought-fit to acquiesce with whatever the general congress might determine, rather than they would be separated from the rest of their brethren. The congress at last determined for INDEPENDENCE; and thus took a step which served to double the horrors of a civil war. This event happened in the year 1776; it's consequences may perhaps be felt during the whole century.

We shall now return to the affairs of Canada, where we left the provincials flying on all sides,
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and the brave Carleton intent on pursuing them. But, for this purpose, a little fleet was to be built, and about thirty fighting vessels were to be constructed. "To this (says the author before me) " was added the transporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of the rivers " There were and St. John's, thirty long boats, a " number of flat-bottomed boats of considerable " burthen, a gondola weighing 300 tons, and " above 400 batteaux, constructed for this service; a work of labour and difficulty, sufficient " even to appal Britons." Yet this arduous task was effected, while two inland seas were to be passed; the unknown force of the enemy to be encountered; and Crown-Point and Ticonderago to be attacked, perhaps in the depth of a Canadian winter!

The spirit of Carleton rose superior to all these difficulties. The armament was equipped under the command of captain Pringle; it set forward upon the Lake Champlain; and the provincial vessels, under the command of Arnold, were met with between the island Valicour and the western main. A warm action ensued: the provincials were forced at length to fly; but they were followed, and brought to an engagement again at Crown-Point the next day. During this second fight, the headmost vessels made the best of their way to Ticonderago: but Arnold, with two galleys and five gondolas, which remained with him, made a desperate resistance. The Washington, which had a brigadier-general on board, struck; and Arnold being overpowered, and not well supported, the Congress, his own vessel, and the five gondolas that remained with him, drove on shore in such a manner that he landed his

his men, and blew up the vessels, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Crown-Point being evacuated, the British forces encamped on the ruins, and the enemy retired to Ticonderago. It was evident that general Carleton had some idea of attacking them there; but, as the season was far advanced, he returned to Canada, and put his troops into winter-quarters of cantonment.

The hopes of government had been raised by the successes in Canada, as they were depressed by the miscarriage in South-Carolina; where, besides our ships being shattered, and our armies returning without effecting any thing, the parties who wished to espouse our cause were defeated, and some suffered for the attempt.

The plan laid in England, was, first to relieve Quebec, recover Canada, and penetrate into New-England, by way of the Lakes; secondly, to endeavour at cutting off all communication between the northern and southern colonies; and lastly, to recover New-York, and, if possible, to penetrate from thence into Philadelphia. The first part of this plan had in a degree succeeded; the second was, for the present, totally frustrated: we come now to speak of the third, which to some people appeared more plausible than either of the former.

Besides the national troops, about 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers were engaged to support this enterprise; the whole force amounting to 35,000 men, abundantly provided with stores, artillery, and warlike materials; and those were attended by a numerous fleet, such as had nothing to fear at that time from any opposition. But besides this military force, general Howe, and his
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brother, the admiral, who was to join him, had commissions for granting the royal pardon to all such provinces, or individuals, as should chuse to accept it, and for restoring peace to the colonies.

As the situation of the army at Halifax was not the most agreeable, the summer season being far advanced; though, as it was reasonable to suppose, the general was well acquainted with all the designed operations, yet he resolved to leave Halifax before his brother, the admiral, arrived with the expected reinforcements; and accordingly embarked on the 10th of June. About the end of the same month, he arrived off Sandy-Hook, near New-York; having been joined on his passage by six transports, that had highland troops on board, which were separated from their companions on the voyage. Some of the missing ships, with about 450 soldiers, and some officers, as it appeared afterwards, were taken on their passage by the Americans.

1776. On their arrival in the Sound, they found New-York and Long-Island fortified by the enemy; but Staten-Island, being reckoned of less consequence, was rather neglected. Here the royalists, not only landed without opposition; but met with a number of persons well affected to their cause: and here affairs were represented in such a pleasing light, that, by the assistance of friends, it was thought that a happy issue might soon be put to the American troubles.

At last lord Howe, after touching at Halifax, sailed for New-York, and joined his brother at Staten-Island. A circular letter was now sent to the late governors of the colonies and others, acquainting them with those powers he possessed, and in which his brother was joined. Franklin,

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now the American ambassador to France, was likewise addressed, but in vain. And a message being sent to the American commander, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq; he refused it because his assumed title was not specified: but at length accepted of another, directed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. Adjutant Paterfon, the bearer of this letter, was received in state by Washington; but all overtures were rejected, and the recent declaration of independence, on which he most insisted, was published in form throughall the provinces, as were articles of confederacy, perpetual unity, &c. Many estates were confiscated, and some persons suffered for the royal cause. Sir Peter Parker, and general Clinton, by this time arrived at Staten-Island.

All conferences that were held being in vain, it was resolved to effect a landing on Long-Island, which was performed without opposition; the American troops having resolved not to spend their time in defending the shore, in order to collect all into one point. However, they disposed matters so ill, that they were totally defeated, with great slaughter: many were drowned, and some perished in the mud of a marsh into which they had thrown themselves. They left about 3000 men, including 1000 prisoners. The remainder gained their lines, which the English were eager to storm; but general Howe determined to march by regular approaches: which we do not scruple to pronounce, a capital error, when we consider the description and ardour of his army, the distress of the enemy, the late attack, and the confusion of a first defeat, to a body of men, such as the American commander had brought into action against him.

The consequence was, that general Washington crossing over to the island, and seeing the wretched situation of his troops, after expressing his sorrow and astonishment, took advantage of this circumstance, and advised a hasty retreat, which was accomplished in the silence of the night, unobserved by all the vigilance of the British commander.

Three of the provincial commanders, and the brigadier-generals lord Stirling and Udell, were taken on Long-Island. Sullivan was sent on his parole to congress by lord Howe, to inform that assembly, that though he had it not in order to treat with them as a *Congress*; yet he would confer with any of their members as *Private Gentlemen*, on the subject of American affairs. Accordingly Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, waited on lord Howe, upon this occasion; but the conference came to nothing. Franklin, by his representation of matters, had a great share in reminding the congress, of their declaration of independence, and other circumstances, notwithstanding their late defeat, to reject all terms of reconciliation.

The reduction of Long-Island, was followed by that of New-York, which being attacked in a regular manner, was soon abandoned by the enemy. A design was afterwards made by some incendiary rebels, to fire the town, and a vast number of houses were burnt; but such of them as were taken, suffered exemplary, and some immediate punishment.

To improve those advantages, the retreating rebels were pursued; but though they often appeared to make a stand, they only skirmished, and could not be forced, or, at least were not brought,

to a general engagement, till they gained such a position near the White-Plains, that general Howe abandoned the design; and returning, attacked Fort-Washington, in which a garrison had been left, though it would have been more prudent to have withdrawn them.

The fort was surrendered just as it was on the point of being stormed by the Hessians. Fort-Lee was also taken soon after, and the greater part of Jersey was over-run by the royal troops. In the mean-time, Rhode-Island was taken by general Clinton, with the assistance of a Squadron of ships of war, under the command of Sir Peter Parker; and all things seemed to promise fair for the re-establishment of the British constitutional government in America.

C H A P. XII.

Cornwallis's Success—General Lee taken—Surprise at Trenton—New Measures—Colonel Mawhood attacked at Prince-Town—Americans over-run the Jerseys—Loyal Provincials embodied under General Tryon—Skirmishes—Washington regains his strong Camp—Wooster killed—General Prescott carried off from Rhode-Island—General Howe leaves New-York—Battle of Brandywine—Philadelphia taken—Obstructions removed with Difficulty—Battle of German-Town—Further Transactions of the Northern Army.

LORD Cornwallis now advanced fast into the Jerseys, and the royal army penetrated as far as to the banks of the Delaware, in their way

to Philadelphia. It was said, that not 3000 Americans now remained embodied under their general: that 30,000 men, at least, was the amount of his army when general Howe first landed at Staten-Island; and that commander said, that even these must have been cut to pieces could he have obtained boats to follow them over the river. About this time, general Lee, on his march to join Washington, being slightly guarded, was taken prisoner by colonel Harcourt. It is well known that Lee had served in our army; and the loss of such a veteran, at such a juncture, greatly hurt the rebels, and furnished matter of triumph to all who favoured the British government.

But this triumph was of short duration; for soon after, an event happened which struck all who were informed of it with surprise. General Howe had greatly extended his posts, and in his security covered too large a tract of ground. Colonel Rall, a Hessian, was encamped with three regiments at Trenton. Washington knowing the danger to which Philadelphia would be exposed, should the British and foreign troops find an opportunity of passing the river when it was frozen, collected about 2500 troops, and with these fell upon this corps in three divisions. Rall, instead of falling back to the next post, rashly engaged the enemy with inferior force: the slaughter was not great on either side, but their colonel was mortally wounded; 918 surrendered, and the remaining few found their safety in a precipitate flight. All the Americans did not come up, or perhaps some other posts might have suffered.

This advantage was, however, a great one, and doubtless contributed much to the business of recruiting, which was then going on in other provinces;

vinces; yet, lord Cornwallis turning upon general Washington, the latter thought proper to desert Trenton in the night, and continually to shift his quarters, in order to prevent coming to a general engagement. In his retreat, he met colonel Mawhood marching from Princes-Town with a detachment to join the royal army. This officer was attacked, and after a grievous conflict, forced his way through the enemy, who lost more than he did, though it was a surprise on their side, and on his a sort of desperate defence.

The two posts of Brunswick and Amboy were now all that the royal army retained, the rebels having again recovered the Jerseys, where the inhabitants were much displeased with some irregularities formerly committed by the Hessians; and Washington taking care to secure himself so as not to be forced to a battle. An Indian war to the south was now encouraged by the British commander; but it ended in nothing decisive.

A corps of loyal provincials was at this time embodied under general Tryon, who afterwards did some service; and the most of these were properly allotted to the defence of New-York and the adjacent islands, in order that the regular troops might be otherwise employed. This was a judicious arrangement, had the regulars been employed to any advantageous purpose: but upon the whole, this does not seem to have been the case. Some expeditions were indeed undertaken, such as those to Peek's-Hill, and to Danbury, which ended in the destruction of a few rebel magazines and the loss of many of our men; the British troops being in such case obliged to retreat before the provincials. In one of these skirmishes Wooster fell, and Arnold would have met the

same fate, his horse being killed under him, had he not had the good fortune to shoot with his pistol a soldier who was ready to dispatch him with his bayonet. In return for these prædatory expeditions, the enemy destroyed some provisions, and carried off about ninety prisoners from a place called Sagg-Harbour.

The general scheme for the campaign, as it seems, was for general Howe to bring Washington to an engagement if possible, and if he defeated him, of which scarcely a doubt was entertained, then to pass by the first intended route immediately to Philadelphia: but if the Americans could not be brought to an engagement, then to embark for the same purpose by sea, and turn at any rate to take possession of that place, which the general declared to be the principal object of the campaign.

By his accounts, we are told, that he used several feints to draw the wary provincial commander from his lines, and that in one of these he had nearly succeeded; but his enemy having suffered some loss in pursuing those who soon turned upon him, penetrated the design, and retreated again to that strong camp which the British general durst not attempt to force, and which he chose not to leave in his rear, when he had a tract of country to pass through that was rendered inimical to us by the former behaviour of a body of foreigners, over whom some people thought he might have had some controul.

However that was, abandoning all other schemes, general Howe prepared to embark for the Chesapeak, just at the time that assistance was most wanted in another quarter, namely, while Burgoyne, surrounded with dangers, was too rashly pushing

pushing for Albany. It is true that general Clinton was ordered to advance to succour him, but he was too late; and the scheme was so ill laid, that the northern general knew not of his advance, though he was within little more than a day's march of him when the disgraceful convention at Saratoga was concluded.

If winning a battle, without reaping any solid advantage from the victory; if taking a town, without being able to hold it; are exploits of any consequence, then Sir William Howe's expedition was crowned with success: after a tedious voyage, in which the English ministry declared they knew not what was become of him, he passed the Chesapeake, and was landed with his forces, by his brother the admiral, at the head of Elk's Ferry. Washington followed him by land, and now for the first time, was disposed to come to an engagement. By the valour of lord Cornwallis, it came to a fortunate issue. The provincials were defeated, but the action was no otherwise decisive than that the Americans retreating, and wishing to keep the open country rather than to be blocked up, the royal army consequently took possession of Philadelphia. The Marquis de la Fayette, a Frenchman, who made himself busy in these troubles from their first breaking out, while there was peace between the two nations, received a small chastisement, by being wounded in this action.

Lord Cornwallis was the person who took possession of Philadelphia, whilst general Wayne was defeated by the royalists. However, notwithstanding these successes, the rebel frigate, called the Delaware, had the assurance to fire upon the royal batteries while unfinished; but she was taken: nor

would this have happened, but that the passage of the river had been rendered impracticable to our fleet by booms, sunken vessels, and other devices of the enemy.

Before these obstructions could be removed, another battle was fought at German-Town, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, which was begun by the rebels surprising our troops; it ended, indeed, in our favour, but it gave the Americans a high opinion of the commander, who could be worsted and recover himself so as to be able to hazard a battle so soon after his defeat.

In the mean time, there were two places from which it was necessary to dislodge the enemy before the navigation of the Delaware could be perfectly secured. These were Mud-Island and Red-Bank. It was intended that the Hessian colonel Donop should attack the former, while the ships endeavoured to reduce the latter of these places, and all things were prepared accordingly: but for want of proper information of the strength of the American works, the Hessians were repulsed with loss, and colonel Donop was slain; nor did the attack of the shipping on the other hand succeed better; the obstructions in the river prevented them from bringing their fire to bear: the Augustine man of war was burnt by accident during the engagement, and most of the principal officers were saved; yet, the second lieutenant, chaplain, and gunner, with a number of sailors perished: and the Merlin sloop was evacuated and destroyed. However, both Mud-Island and Red-Bank were soon afterwards taken, measures more proper having been adopted: the provincials now burned their own vessels, as these could not hope for protection in their present situation.

Yet,

Yet, from all these successes, no advantage was reaped; the enemy encamped as usual, in a strong place; and general Howe having examined their position, returned to Philadelphia, where he resolved to winter. The American army was huddled at a place called Valley-Forge; the British troops remained rather straitened in the city. In the end, the latter thought proper to quit their position, and march back through the Jerseys to New-York; of which expedition we shall take notice hereafter.

In the midst of these wars and commotions a new state was founded in that district of America known by the name of the Hampshire-Grants; so called from governor Wentworth's having made a grant of a parcel of lands in New-Hampshire, to persons of New-Hampshire, Massachusets-Bay, Connecticut, and New-York, most of whom had been formerly deterred from settling in the back countries by their fears of the French, and the neighbouring Indians.

The inhabitants of New-York claimed a part of these lands, and about thirteen years ago there was some blood spilt on the occasion; yet the dispute was not then, nor has it ever yet been decided; and those who settled there being a body of hardy adventurers, entered into a compact to stand by each other: and thus to put the matter of right out of the question, Ethan Allen, of whom we have already spoken, distinguished himself among them. They were the men who, under a brigadier-general Starke, cut off Burgoyne's people at Bennington; and, indeed, the people of that country had the greatest share in all the actions, till the surrender of the British and German troops at Saratoga. As for Ethan Allen,

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who had been conveyed a prisoner to England, he was sent back again to America, and remained for some time upon his parole on Long-Island; where he is said to have behaved very insolently. Escaping from thence, he returned to the Hampshire-Grants, where he was always the favourite of the people; and there, in concert with some of his friends, continued to bring this new settlement into the form of a regular state, which proved highly disagreeable to the congress, who, on the 2d of June 1780, voted the erection of the state of Vermont highly unwarrantable, and ordered the officers of this new government to refrain from all acts of authority until the congress should determine the interests of the particular states claiming a right in those grants. This edict has been treated with contumacy. The people have shewn their strength, and the new government is more firmly established than ever; and Ethan Allen alike invites thither those who have shaken off subjection to Great-Britain, and such as complain of the oppression of the congress.

That general Carleton had conducted the affairs of Canada with unexampled bravery, not even his enemies could dispute; yet government had thought proper to commit the future care of them to lieutenant-general Burgoyne, a circumstance not very agreeable to the former, as a sort of military pride will always exist among military men.

However that might be, the latter was intrusted with the command of a body of English Canadians and Indians, with which he was (as we have already hinted) to pass the Lakes, and penetrate into the New-England provinces. He undertook the expedition with cheerfulness, nay, even with eagerness. About 10,000 men were all that he demanded

demand of government (Canadians supposed to be included); of British forces and regulars, not 7200 ever joined him. He had, however, with him some brave and experienced officers, which were the generals Frazer, Powel, Hamilton, and major-general Phillips of the artillery, who had gained much honour in Germany. An attack was also planned on Fort Stanwix, near the Mohawk river, under colonel St. Leger, who, besides the English troops, was to be assisted by a body of Indians. About 3700 men were sent for the defence of Canada on general Burgoyne's departure.

The Indians were met on the river Bouquet to the north of Crown-Point, and were treated with a war feast after their own manner; during which, the British general instructed them in the part which they were expected to act, and at the same time endeavoured to restrain them from acts of barbarity, insisting that none should be scalped but such as were slain, and that none should be slain but in open fight, and offering a compensation for prisoners.

Yet, while he thus endeavoured to repress the cruelty of the savages, he every where published his own strength, and used every means to make the enemy dread their approach: circumstances which for some time tended rather to throw a blemish upon his character amongst the colonists, and rather hurt than forwarded the cause in which he appeared so heartily engaged.

After the army had made a short stay at Crown-Point, they advanced to Ticonderago, where strong works had been constructed by the Americans with their usual industry; but these were evacuated on their approach, and a pursuit afterwards cost the garrison more than a regular de-

fence might have done; many were slain and taken prisoners; and the American commander, Sinclair, retreated. General Burgoyne proceeded to Skenesborough, and entered, as in triumph, the New-England provinces, Fort-Edward being taken, and those who should have defended it retiring before the royal army.

Thus far all was well; but future difficulties were to be encountered. A country not the most fruitful, diversified with woods and mountains, was to be passed, where almost every man might be supposed an enemy: these certainly were great obstacles; but they were not attended to in the elevation of hope, and the full career of victory. The British commander pushed forward with ardour, and doubted not but that he should soon arrive, crowned with conquest, at Albany, where he was to wait for instructions and reinforcements from general Howe, who was by this time set out for Philadelphia.

The loss of Ticonderago, and the return of the provincial army, struck the New-England men with dread and astonishment. Sinclair was suspended from his command, and a new body of troops, such as time and circumstances would permit, was begun to be assembled, in order to reinforce their shattered army, which had retired towards Saratoga. In the mean time, the Indians had been guilty of some barbarities, in spite of the British general's orders and exhortations; amongst which, one was, the murder of Miss M'Crea, a lady of beauty and virtue, and who it seems was so far from having any connection with the provincials, that her father was interested in the royal cause; on the very day on which she was massacred, she was to have been married to a British officer; but by some means or other, the savages,
had

had already conceived something of a dislike to general Burgoyne, and this was not a time, by inflicting punishments, to hazard the increasing of such a dangerous disgust.

It was now that this too sanguine commander first began to encounter, in this country, some of those inconveniencies which it was not to be expected that courage could remove. Those increased upon him daily. He could not get horses for the service; while the roads were steep and troublesome, and no more than fifty teams of oxen were to be procured in the country. Heavy rains added to those difficulties; his supplies were to be drawn almost entirely from Canada, which lay behind him; and so far was it from being possible for him to establish proper magazines there in the space of a fortnight, that there were not more than ten batteaux in Hudson's-River, nor above four days provision provided for his army.

At this critical juncture, tidings arrived that colonel St. Leger had begun his operations against Fort-Stanwix. For this reason, general Burgoyne, in the midst of all those difficulties, moved forward, in hopes that the enemy must either draw off to succour that place, or else, by leaving it to its fate, give the armies an opportunity of joining after it was taken. It seems, however, that he forgot the possibility there was that such an attempt might miscarry.

Having thus determined his line of action, the British army was ordered to proceed with all possible celerity; and some time afterwards, hearing that there was a magazine of provisions at Bennington, about twenty miles to the eastward of Hudson's-River, which was but slightly guarded, he formed a scheme to surprise it, the
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execution of which was intrusted to lieutenant-colonel Beaume, a German, at the head of about 500 men: but his advance was so tedious, that before he arrived at the place of destination, the enemy had gathered too strong for him to pretend to attack them; he therefore returned to a post which he deemed advantageous for his small numbers, and sent an account of his situation to the general.

Colonel Breyman was dispatched to reinforce him; he also either marching slowly, or meeting with some delays, came too late for the intended purpose. Before he arrived, the provincials had attacked Beaume in his post; and even, while they were preparing to surround him, some of the loyal Americans, in his army, persuaded him that they were friends. When he found his mistake, he defended himself as well as he could; but the trifling works he had raised were soon carried. Many Englishmen, who were with him, fell; the Indians and marksmen retired into the woods; and the colonel, with his Germans, engaged the enemy sword-in-hand, but they were all slain or taken prisoners; among the number of the latter, was this unfortunate officer, just at the time that a detachment was advancing to support him.

But the commander of the party in question knew nothing of this engagement: he no sooner arrived at the spot, than he was attacked on all sides; yet he repulsed the Americans twice, and at last retreated under favour of the night, but was obliged to leave two field-pieces behind him, which, besides two others taken before from colonel Beaume, were trophies of victory to the enemy.

Near

Near 500 men were left in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in these two engagements; but this loss was little to that of the reputation of our arms: it happened here as at Trenton; every misfortune of ours elevated the provincials, as our successes had depressed them. Besides, there were other consequences: the object of the attempt not attained, the present distresses of the troops, and the future fatigues they were likely to suffer in a quarter where all were arming against them. The troops that had attacked Fort-Stanwix, under St. Leger, had by this time been obliged to raise the siege, thro' the impatience of their Indian allies, who were equal to sudden attacks, but by no means calculated for any thing that bore a resemblance to the regular works of war. Tired out with what they supposed needless delay, and being disappointed of having their full revenge for several of their people who fell in a skirmish with a body of provincials, whom, however, they had fully defeated, they grew sullen and untractable. Neither threats nor promises of favour and protection could induce the American commander to surrender. St. Leger's artillery was not equal to an attack which he had projected, and into which he was endeavouring to bring his savage allies, when report was spread, that general Burgoyne's forces were totally defeated, and that a very strong detachment was in full march to raise the siege. It was now no longer possible to keep these extraordinary allies together: they dispersed themselves; the siege was raised; and being disappointed of plunder from the enemy, which was their principal object in this, as in every other expedition, they are said to have seized on the effects of some of the officers, and
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even to have robbed and murdered some stragglers while the army was retiring. It has been said, that Arnold was really preparing to relieve Fort-Stanwix; yet deficient as the British troops were in point of ordnance, the appearance of a well concerted general attack might have terrified the apparently obstinate governor into a surrender, before he could have received any assistance.

C H A P. XIII.

The Troops pass the North-River—Battle near Still-Water—The Americans strengthen their Camp—Another Engagement, in which General Burgoyne is defeated—General Frazer slain—Attack on Ticonderago—Distresses of the Army—Convention of Saratoga—Expedition up the North-River—Sketches of General Burgoyne's Character.

General Burgoyne received the very uncomfortable intelligence of this surrender, by some fugitives, just after the affair of Bennington; yet he resolved notwithstanding this damp, and all other disadvantages, to pass Hudson's-River, and proceed to Saratoga, where by this time Horatio Gates had taken the command of the American army raised in that neighbourhood.

One would have thought that little was to be hoped for in such a situation; but there is a certain sort of perseverance in some minds bordering

ing closely upon rashness, that leads them to attempt things of a desperate nature. As people are too apt to judge of all things by the event, if such undertakings should chance to succeed, those who are engaged in them acquire an immortal fame: but if they fail, on the contrary, are generally loaded with all the weight of censure. Whether the general pondered those things in his mind, we pretend not to say; but he caused his army to advance towards the posts the enemy occupied, with all convenient expedition, whom they engaged about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of September 1777.

The provincials issued from a deep wood, and first made an attempt to turn the right wing, and take the British army in flank; but the strong position of general Frazer, who covered it on that side, prevented them from putting their design into execution. They then turned their attention to the left, advancing briskly to the charge, though received by a heavy and well directed fire from the artillery: they were continually supplied with fresh troops, and much encouraged by Arnold, to whose efforts was chiefly owing the fortune of the day.

The British troops in general behaved most gallantly; and major Phillips, with captain Jones of the artillery, did great service. After an engagement of four hours, which was sustained with great vigour by both parties, the Americans, at last, retired to camp as night drew on, and left the royal army indeed masters of the field: but it was apparent enough, as Pyrrhus once said, after he had vanquished the Roman army, "such another victory must undo them."

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The British troops lay that night upon their arms, and the next day advancing, took position within cannon shot of the enemy, fortifying themselves in the best manner they were able; and from the twentieth of September to the seventh of October, scarcely a night passed without firing, and many officers were taken off by single shots; among the rest, captain Green, aide-de camp to captain Phillips, was killed as he was delivering a message to general Burgoyne, who was afterwards informed, that it was intended for him.

While the armies lay thus opposite each other, a letter written in a cypher was received from Sir Henry Clinton, advising, that he intended to attack Fort-Montgomery, and other places on the North-River; but as it was impossible to know what success such an expedition might be attended with, this intelligence afforded but a faint dawning of hope; and in the mean time, provisions grew so scarce, that the soldiers portions were obliged to be lessened. The enemy still increasing, that part of their camp which could be reconnoitred, was situated on a hill, too strongly defended to be attacked: to increase those misfortunes, the English general understood that some of the New-Hampshire militia had got between him and Ticonderago, which they actually besieged, though in the end they were obliged to abandon their design.

At last, when all hopes of assistance from Sir Henry Clinton were at an end (though indeed he was successfully making his way towards Albany) a movement was made with a detachment of 1500 men, and eight pieces of cannon, in order to cover a forage, and also to try whether it was possible, in any quarter, to force a passage through

through the enemy, or to dislodge them, if such a measure should be necessary, in order to favour a retreat. General Burgoyne had with him majors-general Phillips and Reidesdale, and brigadier-general Frazer. The camp on the heights was left to the charge of brigadiers Hamilton and Specht; the redoubts and the plain to brigadier-general Goll. As the rebels in the front were more than double their number, it was not practicable to augment the corps that marched above 1500. General Burgoyne found the troops within about a quarter of a mile of the enemy's left. It was at first determined by general Gates to await the attack in his camp, but Arnold had persuaded him to alter his resolution, and measures were taken for an engagement.

The British general had ordered captain Frazer with his Rangers, together with the Indians and provincials, to go by secret paths through the woods, and gain the enemy's rear, if possible, where, by appearing, they might overawe them. But a sudden attack made by Arnold on the left, where the British grenadiers were posted, prevented farther operations: major Ackland sustained the assault bravely, but the enemy's numbers enabling them to extend their fire along the front of the Germans, who were on the right of the grenadiers, no part of that body could be removed to make a second line to support the flank, where the stress of the fire lay, before which the Brunswickers gave way, and quitted their ground in no very honourable manner. The light infantry and the 24th regiment were at this time engaged, and the provincials and the Americans were pushing a large body of men around their flank, to cut off their retreat. At this crisis, Sir Francis Clarke,
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carrying orders to bring off the artillery, and for the whole detachment to return to the camp, was mortally wounded; a circumstance which produced the loss of the artillery, and had contributed to reduce the army, at last, to a most ruinous condition. The light-infantry and the 24th on the right were now ordered to form a second line for securing a retreat. While this was doing, the provincials sent a strong reinforcement to renew the action on the left, which was obliged to give way; and the light-infantry and the 25th making a quick movement to prevent that point from being carried, general Frazer was mortally wounded. As nothing now could be expected on the field, general Burgoyne turned his attention towards the camp, and began to take measures for its defence, leaving to generals Phillips and Reidesdale the care of bringing back the detachment. Six pieces of cannon were lost, all the horses, and most part of the artillery-men under major Williams, were killed. The major himself, and the few that were with him, remained in their duty till they were taken.

An attack was soon after made upon the camp, when, colonel Breyman being killed, the German post was carried; and general Burgoyne endeavoured in vain to recover it, who, on his retreat, received a shot through his hat, and another tore his waistcoat. But Arnold was wounded, and his party repulsed with loss, while they were endeavouring to storm the British trenches, which were defended by lord Balcarras. The consequence of the attack was, however, such, that the British general thought it necessary to retreat during the silence of the night, and to take a new position near the river.

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On the third of October general Frazer expired, and desired to be buried in a private manner under the great redoubt. His will was complied with; but the procession was continually fired upon (being exposed, as they passed, to the fire of both armies) by their ungenerous enemies; nevertheless, the chaplain did his duty, and the remains of that brave officer were interred with becoming solemnity.

Nothing but cares and toils now succeeded. On the ninth the army withdrew through a heavy rain to Saratoga; here they received every hour fresh tidings of the enemy occupying divers passes around them. The general sent to repair two broken bridges, in order to secure a retreat to Fort-Edward; but the provincial guard abandoning the protection of the workmen, on receiving a sauntering fire from some of the Americans, this design was rendered abortive. It was next proposed to abandon the remaining artillery and heavy baggage, and to endeavour to force the fords of the river; but on examination it was found that those fords were guarded by the enemy: so that all hopes of returning that way were impossible.

Thus situated, worn out with toil and fatigue, with scarcely three days provisions in their camp, exposed to the fire of the enemy, who knew their distresses, whose balls fell often within their lines, and sometimes even flew over to the council-board, it was highly necessary to concert what was to be done for the relief of the embarrassed army. At length, therefore, on the 13th of October, general Burgoyne summoned a general council of war, at which not only the generals and field-officers, but all the captains were present. The

result

result of this council was, a determination to enter into a treaty with general Gates immediately.

The consequence was, that after several letters had passed between the commanders, the well-known convention was agreed upon; the chief stipulations of which were favourable enough in such circumstances, had the congress thought fit to fulfil the engagements entered into by their general. They were to surrender their artillery and military stores, to pile their arms at the command of their own officers, and were to be allowed a free embarkation from Boston to Europe, on condition of not serving against the Americans: the army was not to be separated; roll-calling and other duties of regularity were to be admitted; all private property was to be secured, and that which was public to be delivered upon honour. The Canadians were to be returned to their own country under the conditions of this convention. Five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two men, including Canadians, provincials, regulars, and irregulars, surrendered at Saratoga; and the enemy took possession of about 75 pieces of brass ordnance of different sorts and sizes.

While these things were transacting in the neighbourhood of Fort-Edward, Still-Water, and Saratoga; general Clinton with 3000 men had met with great success in his expedition up the North-River. The forts Montgomery and Constitution, and other posts were taken. General Tryon also, at the head of a detachment, burned a place called Continental-Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men; 67 pieces of ordnance were taken, and a boom and chain which cost 70,000*l.* was in part taken away and in part destroyed by the royalists. Sir William Wallace with a squadron of light frigates, and general, Vaughan,

Vaughan, with a detachment of troops, continued their excursion up the river; in the course of which, the town of Æsopus was consumed to ashes. The Americans were great sufferers in all this quarter; but Gates being now at liberty to turn his attention that way, having intelligence of his approach, they returned with all convenient expedition to New-York.

Thus ended the northern campaign, of which great hopes were at first formed; but which served only to invite the colonists in all parts to arms, and, as by a stroke of enchantment, to conjure up new enemies in arms against us. We cannot more properly conclude this chapter than with a sketch of the character and conduct of the general that commanded our troops at Saratoga. General Burgoyne was appointed a lieutenant-colonel-commandant of a regiment of light-dragoons in the year 1759: the present colonel Luttrell was then the youngest captain in that regiment. This regiment served at Bellisle in the year 1761: colonel Burgoyne served as a brigadier-general in 1762, where he greatly distinguished himself by an attack on Valentine D'Alcantura, as appears by the orders of the day issued on the 29th of August that year, by the Count de la Lippe Burkebanny. " The field-marshal thinks it his duty to
" acquaint the army with the glorious conduct of
" brigadier Burgoyne, who, after having marched
" fifteen leagues without halting, had taken Va-
" lentia D'Alcantura sword in hand, made the
" general who was to have invaded Alentigo, pri-
" soner, destroyed the Spanish regiment of Se-
" ville, taken three standards, a colonel, many
" officers of distinction, and a great number of
" soldiers. The marshal makes no doubt, but the
" whole

"whole army will rejoice at this event, and that every one will in proportion to his rank, strive to imitate so glorious an example."—General Burgoyne shewed as much generosity, as he did courage, and as much of discipline as of either, in his successful enterprise. He was made a major-general in 1772, and a lieutenant-general in the year 1777.

In 1773, he was chairman of the committee for enquiring into the state of affairs in the East-Indies: his speech upon that occasion was then looked upon as a finished pattern of elocution; as was also a subsequent one in the House of Commons relative to American affairs, before he embarked for Boston.

The remainder of this commander's military exploits, the reader has been acquainted with, from the blockade of Boston to the fatal convention at Saratoga, which tarnished the glory of the British arms, and furnished different parties with so much matter of speculation.

We cannot entertain a doubt of the general's valour: he was certainly reduced to such straits as might well justify him in signing that capitulation: the only question remaining will be, how he came to be brought into such a perilous situation? And in this, the commander and the ministry have most cruelly accused each other. Government assert, it was owing to his own rashness; while he, on the other hand, says, he acted by their absolute order. In cases of this kind it generally happens that some blame belongs to either party. We will here briefly and candidly examine the matter in dispute, as far as we are enabled by the lights since thrown upon that transaction.

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In the first place it appears, that general Burgoyne, eager to acquire military glory, resolved with 10,000 men to undertake an expedition which a veteran officer (whom we have had occasion to mention with honour) declared could never be brought to an issue without double that number. The truth of this assertion appeared too late. Posts taken must be secured and garrisoned: fatigue and sickness as well as the sword, were likely to weaken the army: so that at the engagement at Saratoga, only about 9000 effective men remained. Had the British commander been accommodated with 10,000 more, as the veteran advised, how easily might he have put to flight the motley American army! But after the miscarriage at Bennington, and the account of the failure of the detachment sent under St. Leger against Fort-Stanwix, surely it was not *prudent*, though it was *intrepid*, to proceed. An absolute order was pleaded for his proceeding to Albany; but had a council of war been called at this period, it is highly probable they would have determined against adopting the prosecution of this measure, on the ground that impossibilities cannot be effected; and thus a retreat might have been made in time, the army secured, and the general fully exculpated. At present we feel much for his situation, and wish he may be more cautious in the choice of his friends, than he was in engaging his enemies.

C H A P. XIV.

State of Affairs in England—American Pirates infest the Seas—General Burgoyne's Fate made known—Lord North's Bill—French Declaration—Burgoyne's Arrival in England—Proceedings of Parliament—Mr. Dean, with the French Treaties, passes over to North-America—Sir Henry Clinton, commander in chief, and the new Commissioners, arrive there—Fruitless Overtures—Philadelphia evacuated—March of the British Troops through the Jerseys—Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of the Army at New-York—General Lee suspended—Lord Howe, blocked up at Sandy-Hook—The French sail away for Rhode-Island—Lord Howe, being reinforced, follows them.—The Fleets separated on the Point of engaging—The Americans quit their intended Attack on the Island—Lord Howe departs for England.

WHILE the war had been carried on with various success in North-America, the warmth of parties had by no means subsided in Great-Britain. From a kind of pique, perhaps, at some real or supposed insults, there was a sort of animosity between the English and Scotch, which first broke out violently during lord Bute's administration. The troubles in the colonies had increased disputes and heart-burnings. It now appeared, that the Scotchmen in general were inclined to reprobate the American claims, while many good English subjects appeared to support them,

them, chiefly, perhaps, because they thought it necessary to oppose what they constantly termed Scotch measures; though the foundation of these troubles had been laid by Mr. Grenville, and lord North was now at the head of the Treasury; lord Sandwich presided at the Admiralty-Board; and lord George Germaine (formerly Sackville) was Secretary for the American department.

Besides, the marquis of Rockingham, lord Shelburne, and some other noblemen, were at the head of distinct parties, who, though they disagreed in many material parts of their respective political creeds; yet seemed generally agreed in censuring the measures of administration, and particularly in blaming them for continuing the American war.

These ill humours were by no means sweetened by the consideration that a number of petty privateers, fitted out by the colonists, infested the coasts. However, numbers of their vessels were taken in return, though at that time the balance in this case seemed rather against us.

But if these matters were thought worthy of so much concern, what must be the ferment raised when intelligence was received of the capture of the whole northern army? The opposition could scarcely find terms in which to express their astonishment and their indignation against the ministry; they had now a new field to go upon, and were furnished with matter almost inexhaustible. Besides the earl of Chatham, the lords on that side already mentioned, two noble dukes in the upper, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and other patriots in the lower house, signalized themselves upon this occasion; and while these debates were carried on within doors, the people without, who had become

in some measure reconciled to this war, began once more loudly to exclaim against it. On the other hand, the ministers acknowledged to the house and to the public, that they had been unfortunate; but denied that they had been criminal, negligent, or unjust.

In the mean time, France, who had all along temporised, had secretly encouraged American vessels, with their prizes, to enter her harbours, and had already supplied the rebels with arms, ammunition, and stores; for which various frivolous excuses were given, began to throw off the mask; and at last, when it was thought that the catastrophe at Saratoga had pretty nearly ruined our affairs in the western world, the French monarch took an opportunity of declaring himself.

As it had been thought that some difficulty would arise in procuring men for the present campaign; some of those persons and corporations who had been most forward in approving the America war, and in offering their assistance, were applied to. This measure, which was adopted with a degree of caution, lest it should raise an alarm, as having an unconstitutional appearance, met with some success, and the towns of Manchester and Liverpool each offered to raise a regiment for the royal service.

1778. And now lord North brought in his bill
 “ For declaring the intentions of the parliament of
 “ Great-Britain, concerning the exercise of the
 “ right of imposing taxes within his majesty’s co-
 “ lonies of North-America.” And a bill “ To
 “ enable his majesty to appoint commissioners
 “ with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and
 “ agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders

“ now

“ now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America.”

As by this bill the commissioners were empowered to treat with the committees from congress as a legal body, or with general Washington, which before had been refused; and as, in effect, the right of taxation seemed relinquished, so that of dependence might be at length acknowledged; few of either party seemed really satisfied with it: but the minister declared, “ This was no more than the result of his constant secret determination, even in the hour of victory, to grant these concessions.” Some tartly observed, that this was giving up the matter in contest, and spilling the blood of Britons for nothing: whilst others, deeper in speculation, imagined it was the result of something more fatal than the affair of Saratoga, which had not yet been communicated. However, the bill, with alterations, passed both houses, and commissioners were appointed under its sanction.

The next affair that claimed the attention of parliament, was a total breach with the French king, who had entered into what he called a treaty of commerce with the Americans, acknowledging them as Independent States; and which being notified to Great-Britain, lord Stormont, our ambassador, had orders to withdraw himself from the court of Versailles, as a prelude to hostilities; in consequence of which, the parliament were now applied to for their constitutional support and assistance. An amendment was proposed, adding a clause for the removal of the present ministry; but this was rejected, and the bill passed by a majority of 263 to 113.

The arrival of general Burgoyne in England on his parole, revived the recent disputes. The general complained that he had not access to his sovereign. Some thought him a prisoner in effect, and not yet justified in his conduct. The motion made in parliament, was, to consider the state and condition of the army that surrendered themselves prisoners at Saratoga in America; and also by what means lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who commanded that army, and was included in that convention, was now in England? Mr. Wilkes, who had long been the standing patriot of the nation, seconded the motion: Mr. Fox, a sort of rival in patriotic merit, moved an amendment, by the following insertion after the word *consider*, viz. "Of the transactions of the northern army under general Burgoyne, and, &c." This was designed to be referred to a committee of the whole house. The general, from the supposed indignity he received, entered on a justification of himself when the matter in question was not yet properly before the house. However, the amendment was first rejected; and, after some warm altercation, the main question was at length set by at a late hour; the previous question being called for, and carried without a division.

Such was the situation of affairs at home, while the unfortunate army that had been left in America, under the terms of the convention, met with various difficulties to delay their return to Europe, and underwent many vexations and insults in the quarters where they were stationed in the neighbourhood of Boston. General Burgoyne had complained of the ill-treatment of the soldiers: congress denied the charge, recriminated, and pretended the convention was infringed by
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some paltry accoutrements being retained. They likewise went further, and said, that the general's letters indicated his design, to break the terms agreed to, and was therefore of an alarming nature: such were their excuses for an act of injustice, and the captive troops could not obtain any remedy: perhaps the councils of France had an influence upon the conduct of these American governors.

It was in the course of this year that Mr. Dean arrived express from Paris, at York-town, where the congress had sat since the loss of Philadelphia, in a royal frigate of twenty-eight guns, with two treaties, the one of commerce, the other of alliance, for the ratification of congress. The commercial treaty had been signed on the 30th of January, the treaty of alliance on the 3d of February; and these, as well as their bearer, were received with joy and exultation.

As by something that the superstitious world call Fatality, our measures were generally taken too late; so it happened that the new commission, consisting of Sir Henry Clinton, now appointed commander in chief, lord Carlisle, and William Eden, Esq; did not arrive till these treaties were received, and at a time when it was become necessary to evacuate Philadelphia; circumstances which could not fail to prove real obstacles to the intentions of government.

The act of parliament, copy of the commission, &c. were immediately dispatched by Sir Henry Clinton, to congress. These were considered by that assembly, but not till they had been refused to be received in a public way by Dr. Ferguson, to whom a passport was refused: they were therefore sent by a common conveyance;

but all terms were rejected. It was answered, that there was indeed a time when such terms might have been received, but that now they were inadmissible.

1778. The royal troops, as had been determined, quitted and passed the Delaware on the 18th of June, dispositions for that purpose having been made by lord Howe, and now proceeded on their march through the Jerseys.

Washington resolved to obstruct them; he first ordered general Lee, with his brigade, to reinforce the Jerseys militia; but this was of no material consequence, as they could only break down a bridge, being obliged to abandon an advantageous post on the approach of the British army.

Washington resolved to follow with his whole force. The British troops had an extensive country, mostly heights, to pass, and were incumbered with an enormous load of baggage and provisions; the heat of the weather was excessive, and the enemy hourly expected either to hurry on the rear, or, if possible, to possess themselves of some advantageous position in the front, whereby they might effectually prevent all hopes of the English ever reaching New-York, the place of their destination.

It was expected that they would have passed the Rariton; but as general Clinton expected that Gates would intercept him there, he took the other road, and marched for Sandy-Hook. General Washington had passed the Delaware, far above Philadelphia; perhaps he thought they would pass the Rariton; but when he found they followed the contrary course, he sent some detachments of chosen troops under the conduct of the marquis de la Fayette, to harass the royalists, he himself following at a convenient distance; whilst,

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on the other hand, Sir Henry Clinton, who observed the numbers that hovered on his rear, disencumbered that part of his army, and put the baggage under the conduct of general Knyphausen, who led the first column: the enemy however pressed on. An action ensued at Freehold's Farm near Monmouth Court-House, in which the marquis de la Fayette was defeated, though Washington was in the neighbourhood with an army of near 20,000 men; but he could not come up, through certain defiles; and the British spirit overcame all obstructions, though fifty-seven foldiers died with fatigue on their march during this memorable retreat; and general Lee being sent against them, observing the position which by this time they had taken, returned without effecting any thing.

General Clinton pursuing his march to Navasink near Sandy-Hook, the troops were received on board by lord Howe, who had arrived there the day before, and were conducted in safety to New-York.

General Washington was so much offended with Lee for his retreat, that when he met him returning from an impossible attack, he used some reproachful words to him at the head of the army; these the latter returned, and demanded a court-martial, which was held upon him, and in consequence of which he was suspended for the space of twelve months. He has ever since been the enemy of Washington, and of Henry Laurens, then president of the congress, and now prisoner in the Tower of London.

The French having resolved to take an active part in these troubles, had sent out count D'Estaing with a fleet, which had arrived off Virginia

on the very day the British army passed the bridge at Sandy-Hook. Had he arrived a little sooner on the coast, and bent his attention towards them, a part of the transports must inevitably have fallen into his hands; had he pursued them, they must have been much embarrassed: but his object was, that of blocking up the fleet in the Delaware, and inclosing the army at Philadelphia, in which design, by winds and other delays, he was happily disappointed.

D'Estaing, however, afterwards appeared in sight of the English fleet, which he kept in a manner blocked up at Sandy-Hook, but did not think fit to attack them. Admiral Byron was all this while expected on the coast; he did not arrive; but D'Estaing chose not to undertake any thing: on the contrary, just when it was thought he meant to pass the bar, the spring tide being at the highest, he bore away for Rhode-Island, after having captured some English vessels, whose commanders being ignorant of his arrival, had by chance been thrown in his way, at a time when the admiral could not afford them any protection. Thus, a scheme well laid miscarried, partly by misconduct, and partly by unavoidable accidents; and within a few days after the count's departure, four ships of Byron's squadron, that had been dispersed by tempestuous weather, arrived separately at Sandy-Hook, to the great joy of the English.

In the mean time, D'Estaing by sea, and general Sullivan by land, according to a plan concerted, invested Rhode-Island, where six frigates were sunk to prevent the naval operations. Lord Howe now reinforced, set sail to relieve this place, where some thousands of men, together with a great quantity of arms and military stores, had it fallen,

fallen, must have been destroyed, or sacrificed to the enemy. On the English admiral's approach, D'Estaign stood out to sea, and a superior number of vessels fronted the English on the 1st of August. The two fleets spent some time in manœuvres, to gain and preserve the weather gage. At last lord Howe had resolved to engage, and had made the proper dispositions for that purpose, when a violent storm arose which separated him from his adversary, and did great damage to some of his vessels, but still more so to D'Estaign's squadron: his own ship, the Languedoc, was seen afterwards, by captain Dawson, dismasted, who attacked her, but was prevented by the storm, and the darkness of the night, from doing her much damage. He lay as close to her, however, as he could; but when he thought to have renewed his attempt in the morning, six sail of French men of war bore down upon him, and obliged him to desist from his enterprize.

The English fleet went to New-York to refit. D'Estaign returned to Rhode-Island, before which he anchored a second time, on the 2d of August. General Sullivan with his Americans had landed on Long-Island, and eagerly expected his assistance, but he did not enter the harbour. Lord Howe appeared again; the count sailed for Boston; and the Americans at last withdrew their forces, loudly complaining of the expence and trouble they had been put to, in carrying on this fruitless expedition.

The British fleet pursued the French, but found them so well secured in Newfoundland-Road, as to render an attack impracticable. And soon after, lord Howe set sail for England.

C H A P. XV.

Admiral Byron arrives off Boston—Is driven to Sea by a Storm—Gains Rhode-Island—D'Estaing steers for the West-Indies, whither Commodore Hotham likewise sails with an English Squadron, and 4000 Troops—St. Lucia surrenders—Colonel Campbell and General Prevost reduce Georgia—General Lincoln defeated—Charles-Town besieged by Prevost—He retires—D'Estaing appears at Savannah, and sends a summons to the Commander, to surrender to the Arms of the French King—The English stand on their Defence—The Enemy attempts to storm the Place, but are repulsed with great Slaughter—Charles-Town attacked and taken by Sir Henry Clinton—Sir George Brydges Rodney defeats the Spanish Fleet off St. Vincent's, and afterwards M. de Guichen in the West-Indies.

ADmiral Byron, the famous circumnavigator, at length appeared before Boston; but winds and seas, which so frequently fought against this commander, drove him off the coast; on which, however, a seventy-four gun ship, a sixty-four, and a sloop, were beat to pieces, most of the crews perished, and those that escaped the waves, were made prisoners by the Americans. Before this storm had subsided, count D'Eslaing left Boston, and went with his fleet for the West-Indies: he was descried on his passage by the Culloden, one of our

our squadron, which made a prize of one of the store ships, and sent her for New-York ; but the captain of the Culloden having for a long time in vain endeavoured to regain the American coast, at last steered for Britain, and anchored in Milford-Haven, on the 13th of December, having 200 of his crew sick in their hammocks, and the rest in a wretched condition. As for admiral Byron, he made Rhode-Island, whence commodore Hotham sailed for the West-Indies with about 4000 troops on board. He arrived on the 10th of December at Barbadoes, where he was joined by a small squadron under the command of admiral Barrington. They now sailed for St. Lucia, where they landed the troops near the Carenage; but before they could make themselves masters of the island, D'Estaing appeared, and landed 5000 men ; but was repulsed with great slaughter to his ships, against which Barrington's small force had fully defended the harbour.

About this time, two bodies of forces, one under the command of colonel Campbell, and the other from St. Augustine in Florida, were ordered for the reduction of Georgia, in which they succeeded after a few actions that did honour to the courage and steadiness of the British troops. The inhabitants in general submitted, and were received into the king's protection; and twenty companies of militia were formed for the defence of the country against the incursions of the Carolina rebels. A prædatory expedition was undertaken by general Matthews to Virginia, who took Portsmouth, where he would willingly have remained, but it was not thought expedient ; he therefore returned, after having destroyed several

veral privateers, and taken on board a quantity of military stores.

Sir Henry Clinton marked out an attack upon the posts of Stony-Point and Verplanks, the most direct communication between the provinces on either side of Hudson's-River. These were taken and garrisoned; but the enemy found means again to possess themselves of Stony-Point, from whence they commanded Verplanks. Sir Henry Clinton then moved to Dobb's-Ferry, to overcome the enemy, while brigadier-general Stirling embarked with three regiments for the relief of Verplanks, or the recovery of Stony-Ferry. On his arrival within sight of the latter, the enemy abandoned it with precipitation.

An expedition was undertaken up the Penobscot-River, where a fort was built; a force was sent to attack it: and though the place was resolutely defended, it must have fallen, had not Sir George Collier with six frigates arrived there, on which the enemy fled. Sir George having thus relieved the fort, proceeded to burn all the American vessels he could find in the rivers, which proved a terrible loss to the rebels.

General Lincoln having marched with a design to penetrate into Georgia, general Prevost made a forced march through swamps deemed impenetrable, and appeared before Charles-Town, the key of South-Carolina, after having forced some posts in his way; and the place had nearly fallen into his hands, when general Lincoln returned with superior force to its defence, which obliged Prevost to relinquish the undertaking, having previously rejected an offer from the inhabitants, of remaining neutral during the war in America. The English commander returned to the island of
St. John's,

St. John's, where the enemy attacked him, but were repulsed; and then leaving colonel Maitland behind him, he returned to Savannah in Georgia.

In the month of September, D'Estaing, who had conquered the Grenades and St. Vincent's, most unexpectedly appeared on the coast, and after having dispatched two ships of the line and three frigates to Charles-Town, to give notice of his coming, and to prepare the rebels to join him, came to an anchor, landed his men, and summoned the place to surrender to the arms of his Most Christian Majesty. The garrison having demanded 24 hours to consider on this proposal, at the expiration of that time returned an absolute refusal, and having procured some cannon and ammunition from the Fowey and Rose ships of war, most of whose seamen also joined the garrison, they prepared for a vigorous defence, raising batteries and obstructing the channel as much as the shortness of the time would permit.

The French, after having made some regular approaches, at length resolved to storm the place, after their batteries had played upon our works with little effect. Count D'Estaing led the attack in person; but the attempt proved fatal to the assailants. The attack commenced on the 9th of December at day-break; but about 300 men, with the help of the grape-shot from the batteries, repulsed the French and Americans with great slaughter, and the count himself was severely wounded in the action.

The count Pulawsky, who had thrown himself into Charles Town while it was attacked by Prevost, was mortally wounded, and there were about 1200 Americans and French slain outright. Their joint force amounted to between 7 and 8000

8000 men. The loss of the British forces was only one captain and fifteen rank and file killed, three subalterns and thirty-five wounded. Immediately after this defeat, the French began to labour at getting off their cannon, and by the night quitted their works, retreated to their boats, and embarked under cover of their gallies.

Thus was an attempt frustrated, in which the enemy had assured themselves of success; during the course of which they had denied a request made by general Prevost, of taking the women and children on board the vessels; but after their repulse, before they thought the English were apprised of their departure, they apologized for this, laying the fault, as count O'Duin said, upon "the American general, that scoundrel Lincoln." However, the offer was rejected for obvious reasons, though many civilities passed between the English and French, during the short time the latter yet remained before Savannah.

The consequence of the French King's conduct, as every one knows, had occasioned hostilities to commence. The attacking of the French fleet, and taking the *Licorne*; the memorable action of the 27th of July, and the no less remarkable parade of the combined fleets sailing up the channel, after Spain had acceded to a treaty with France and America, are matters too well known, and too little connected, to be here related at large. All parties seemed determined to make the Western-World the seat of war by sea and land. We have seen the event of the attack on the capital of Georgia; after it's miscarriage, the French met with storms and other misfortunes, while the English affairs began to wear a more promising face in that quarter. Things were put
upon

upon a better establishment than ever in that province, and loyalists daily flocked to general Prevost, while Lincoln was content to withdraw towards Carolina.

How inactive soever Sir Henry Clinton might have appeared, while general Prevost with a handful of men was doing such wonders in Georgia and South-Carolina; yet, when he found the coast was clear of the French, and Savannah still in our hands, he prepared himself to embark on an expedition to Charles-Town; and after encountering some difficulties, landed on the Neck on the 29th of March 1780, passed Ashby-River, and in the night of the 1st of April broke ground within 800 yards of the place.

As the English general had been foiled in a former attempt, he was now the more resolute in prosecuting his purpose; and the navy under admiral Arbuthnot co-operated cordially with the military force upon this occasion.

The communication with the country was almost every where cut off. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton defeated a part of the enemy's cavalry, while the shipping began to invest the town by sea. Of his dispositions in order to attain this end, the following is an account, which we have thought proper to copy, with a view to give the reader a just idea of the strength of Charles-Town and it's dependencies, before which two British armies had already been baffled.

" Preparations," says the admiral, " were
" made for passing the bar, where at high-water
" spring-tide there are only 19 feet water. The
" guns, provisions, and water, were taken out of
" the *Renown* and *Romulus* to lighten them,
" and we lay in that situation on the open coast,
" in

“ in the winter-season, exposed to the insults of
“ the enemy, for 16 days, before an opportunity
“ offered of going into the harbour, which, how-
“ ever, was effected without any accident, not-
“ withstanding the enemies gallies continually at-
“ tempted to prevent our boats from sounding
“ the channel.

“ Every thing being in readiness for the army’s
“ crossing Ashby-River, the boats of the fleet,
“ with the flat-boats under the command of cap-
“ tain Elphinston, and captain Evans, of the
“ *Raisonable*, the whole army, with the artillery
“ and stores necessary for the siege, were landed
“ (as has been already mentioned) under cover
“ of the gallies on the town side, with astonish-
“ ing expedition.

“ As soon as the army began to erect their
“ batteries against the town, I took the first fa-
“ vourable opportunity of passing Sullivan’s-
“ Island, upon which there was a strong fort and
“ batteries, the chief defence of the harbour.
“ Accordingly, I weighed at one o’clock, on the
“ 9th of April, with the *Roebuck*, *Richmond*,
“ *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, and *Sand-*
“ *wich* armed-ship, the *Renown* bringing up the
“ rear; and passing through a severe fire, an-
“ chored in about two hours under *James-Island*,
“ with the loss of 27 seamen killed and wounded.
“ The *Richmond*’s fore-top-mast was shot away,
“ and the ships in general suffered damage in
“ their rigging, however not materially in their
“ hulls; but the *Acetus* transport, having on
“ board a few naval stores, grounded within gun-
“ shot of Sullivan’s-Island, and received so much
“ damage, that she was obliged to be abandoned
“ and burnt.

“ Having

“ Having stationed ships and armed-vessels off
“ the different inlets upon the coast, and the
“ town being now nearly invested, attempts were
“ made to pass a naval force into Cooper’s-Ri-
“ ver by Hogg’s-Island, the main channel being
“ rendered impracticable; and small vessels to
“ carry heavy guns were fitted for that service. But
“ it being found that the enemy had already sunk
“ vessels in that channel, whilst its entrance was
“ defended by the works on Sullivan’s-Island and
“ Mount-Pleasant, it was resolved to dispossess
“ them of the latter by means of our seamen,
“ and in the mean time to arm certain small ves-
“ sels which had been taken by lord Cornwallis
“ in the Wando-River.

“ For this purpose, a brigade of seamen and
“ marines was formed from the squadron, and
“ under the conduct of the captains Hudson,
“ Ord, and Gambier, landed on the 28th at day-
“ break at Mount-Pleasant, where receiving in-
“ formation that the enemy was abandoning the
“ redoubts at Lampry’s-Point, an advantageous
“ post on Cooper’s-River, they marched with
“ a view of cutting off their rear; but on a near
“ approach found that they had escaped in vessels
“ to Charles-Town. However, the sudden ap-
“ pearance of this body prevented the rebels from
“ carrying off their cannon and stores, and from
“ destroying their works. About the same time,
“ a major, a captain, and some other commission-
“ ed and non-commissioned officers, with 80 pri-
“ vates, were made prisoners by the guard boats
“ of the fleet, in retiring to town.

“ Captain Hudson being relieved in his post
“ by colonel Ferguson, returned to the fort at
“ Mount-Pleasant, which being in the neigh-
“ bourhood

"bourhood of Fort-Sullivan, brought us in de-
 "serters daily, from whom I learned accounts
 "very favourable to us of it's garrison. I there-
 "fore formed such a plan to attack it as should
 "not interfere with the important operations
 "which the army were carrying on, and which
 "now became every day more and more cri-
 "tical.

"The attention of the rebels I found had been
 "directed to the south-east sides of the fort,
 "which were most open to attack; but the west
 "face and north-west bastion, I found had been
 "neglected. I therefore determined to attempt
 "the fort by storm, under cover of the fire from
 "the ships of the Squadron. The whole being
 "ready, and the ships only waiting for the tide
 "to begin the attack, the fort was summoned by
 "captain Hudson, when, after a little considera-
 "tion, the garrison surrendered themselves pri-
 "soners of war."

The reduction of this fort, while the cannons
 and bombs threatened desolation to all the dwell-
 ings in Charles-Town, inclined Lincoln, who
 commanded there, to think of capitulating, though
 he had answered the first summons with disdain;
 yet when he was desired to propose articles, he
 framed such as from their nature could not be ra-
 tified, and exceptions being made to them, he
 declared the answer inadmissible. He then pro-
 posed other articles, which in their turn were
 rejected by Sir Henry Clinton; but on the 11th
 of May he sent to the British commander a letter
 to the following purport.

"Sir, the same motive of humanity which
 "inclined you to propose articles of capitulation
 "on to this garrison, induced me to offer those
 "which

" which I had the honour of sending you on the
" 8th instant: they then appeared to me such as
" I might proffer, and you receive, with honour
" to both parties. Your exceptions to them, as
" they principally concerned the militia and ci-
" tizens, I then conceived were such as could
" not be concurred with: but a recent applica-
" tion from those people, wherein they express a
" willingness to comply with them; and a wish
" on my part, to lessen as much as may be the
" distress of war to individuals, leads me now to
" offer an acceptance of them."

Sir Henry Clinton answered, " That though
" after the refusal of the former terms, he had
" at first intended to accept of nothing but a sur-
" render *at discretion*; yet the former benevo-
" lent reasons still prevailing in his mind, he was
" ready to embrace the proposal." Accordingly,
hostilities ceased on the capitulation being rati-
fied, which upon the whole was favourable to the
besieged: the general entered Charles-Town in
triumph, from whence he had been compelled to
retire two years before. Five vessels, French
and American built, mounting from 44 to 20
guns, and a polacre of 16, were taken in the har-
bour. The place was given up four days after
the surrender of Fort-Sullivan. Various were the
opinions relative to this so-much-desired conquest.
Some said that this blow alone secured us the Ca-
rolinas, and led to the reduction of the Southern
Colonies, which when we had secured, the war
must languish on the side of the rebels for want
of supplies generally drawn from those parts, and
the ultimate consequence must be, the submission
of America to the parent state. Others treated
the matter as the trifling acquisition of a single
town,

town, in which we should probably only be blocked up, as had been the case at Philadelphia; and, however the royalists might flatter themselves, asserted, that new armies would be constantly raised, and that we should not find any friends in the country. Neither party reasoned exactly right in this case, as will shortly appear in the sequel.

When Sir Henry Clinton had settled all things in Charles-Town, at his departure for New-York, he left there the lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, with no considerable force; as it seems he thought proper to take far the greater part of the army back, lest the Americans, who expected to be joined by the French auxiliaries, should attempt any things against New-York in his absence; but during a severe winter nothing of that kind had taken place: on the contrary, several rebel posts had been surprised, owing to the vigilance of the commander, and the loyalty of several of the inhabitants, who formed themselves into companies for the protection of the coasts, and the annoyance of the enemy.

Little more of any consequence had been done during admiral Byron's stay in the West-Indies, except his having, in company with Barrington, engaged the French off St. Vincent's, with some loss, both parties claiming the victory: but all the solid advantages remained with the enemy, who kept their conquests, and seemed to have a superiority over us in these parts; which, however, D'Estaing's unsuccessful expedition to the Havannah lessened; that commander being obliged to return to France, where he was received with rejoicings, and his coach covered with laurels, being treated as if, indeed, he had expelled the English from all their settlements in America and the

the West-Indies. The Spaniards having laid siege to Gibraltar, admiral Rodney sailed with a fleet, with orders to throw succours into the place, and from thence to proceed to the West-India-Islands: he not only accomplished the first part of the design, but also defeated a Spanish squadron under Don Juan de Langara, and made the commander prisoner.

Afterwards, he proceeded to Barbadoes and St. Lucia, and took upon him the command of the ships on that station, and soon had intelligence that the French fleet under the command of M. Guichen had for several days appeared before St. Lucia, waiting for an opportunity to surprise the island; but upon the arrival of the British force, they retired into Port-Royal Bay. But these having put to sea on the 15th, admiral Rodney followed them, and after several manœuvres on both sides, brought them to an engagement on the 17th in the morning. The following is his account of that action, which proved by no means decisive.

“ The different movements of the enemy (says Sir George) obliged me to be very cautious, and watch every opportunity that offered of attacking them to advantage.

“ At eleven in the morning I made the signals for battle, to convince the whole fleet that I was determined to bring the enemy to an engagement. At fifty minutes past eleven, I made the signal for every ship to bear down, and steer for her opposite in the enemy's line, agreeable to the last article of the fighting instructions; five minutes afterwards the signal was made for battle; a few minutes after that, it was my intention to engage close, and consequently

“ consequently the admiral’s ship to be the ex-
“ ample ; a few minutes before one in the after-
“ noon, one of the head-moſt ſhips began the
“ action ; at one in the afternoon, the Sandwich
“ in the centre, after having received ſeveral fires
“ from the enemy, began to engage. Perceiving
“ ſeveral of our ſhips at a diſtance, I repeated the
“ ſignal for a cloſe action. The Action in the
“ centre continued till fifteen minutes paſt four
“ in the afternoon, when M. Guichen in the
“ Couronne, in which they had mounted ninety
“ guns, the Triumphant, and Fendant, after en-
“ gaging the Sandwich an hour and a half, bore
“ away. The ſuperiority of the Sandwich’s fire,
“ and the gallant behaviour of her officers and
“ men, enabled her to ſuſtain ſo unequal a com-
“ bat ; though, before attacked by them, ſhe had
“ beaten three ſhips out of the line of battle, had
“ entirely broken it, and was to leeward of the
“ wake of the French admiral.”

Sir George Brydges Rodney purſued the enemy for three days ; they endeavoured to get into Port-Royal, Martinico, but were prevented ; after which, they took ſhelter under Guadaloupe, where they remained with ſeveral of the ſhips that had formed the van, greatly diſabled ; but the king’s ſhips not being in a condition to follow them, got off Port-Royal to wait for the enemy, the admiral having diſpatched frigates to different quarters, to give him notice in caſe of their approach.

In the month following, the enemy were again diſcerned ; but they kept ſuch a diſtance that it was impoſſible for admiral Rodney to bring them to an engagement ; their rear, however, after two attempts of this kind, were much damaged by a heavy

heavy fire from the English. In the mean time, M. Ternay had sailed from France; but the place of his destination was kept a secret.

While such were the transactions in the West-Indian seas, a plan that had been formed for an expedition from Jamaica to the river St. Juan, was crowned with success, by taking the fort of that name, though great difficulties attended the expedition, and numbers of the English died after their landing in that unhealthy climate. It was thought that a rebellion against the Spaniards in the further parts of South-America, might favour such an undertaking; but these rebels were too remote; and the only assistance our foes received, was from the Mosquito Indians inhabiting near the Bay.



L

CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

M. Ternay sails for the American coast—Mr. Laurens embarks for Holland; and is taken by an English Frigate; his Character, and that of Dr. Franklin's—Negociation with Brigadier-General Arnold discovered—The General escapes; but Major André is taken and executed as a Spy—Particulars relative to that unfortunate Gentleman, and to General Arnold.

IT appeared at length, that M. Ternay's destination was for Rhode-Island, which had been evacuated by the English; thither admiral Arbuthnot followed him. A plan being laid for attacking Ternay by sea and land, Sir Henry Clinton actually failed upon the expedition; but through some delays, all things were not in readiness, till the French general, with the assistance of the Americans, had so well fortified the harbour, that an attack must have been desperate; and New-York being threatened in Sir Henry's absence, he returned without effecting any thing. The two commanders did not seem well satisfied with each other upon this occasion.

In the mean time, the Dutch having constantly assisted the enemies of England, besides refusing the assistance stipulated by treaties, and taking great pains to procure what they called an armed neutrality of the northern powers, much coolness subsisted between Great-Britain and the United-States. At this critical juncture, while the famous Dr. Franklin, plenipotentiary from the congress, remained laying plans at Paris, Mr. Laurens,

Laurens, formerly president of the continental congress, was taken by his majesty's frigate the *Vestal*, as he was passing over to Holland. A bag of papers which he had thrown overboard, being taken up, on examination proved that he was employed on a negociation with the Dutch. Remonstrances were made; the States-General denied their knowledge of any treaty; they rested it with Amsterdam, and some merchants there were named: it was insisted by the English, that justice should be done; and then the matter was bandied about till government gave orders for seizing the Dutch vessels, and thus hostilities commenced between the two nations.

Mr. Laurens, after his examination, was committed to the Tower. We shall here present the reader with some account of Dr. Franklin, so often mentioned; and of this intended ambassador in secret to the States of Holland.

The celebrated Benjamin Franklin, who is now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, was the son of a tallow-chandler in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and served his apprenticeship to a printer in Boston. During his servitude, he contracted a taste for letters, and appeared to be of a studious disposition.

He was but just out of his time when he made an attack upon the conduct of the general court, which gave so much offence, that he was obliged to withdraw himself from the province, and to settle in Philadelphia, where he followed his occupation as a printer, and managed a newspaper in that city. Here also he meddled in politics, though in a different line from that which he has thought fit since to adopt; for he, who was at that time in league with Mr. Gal, endeavoured to

overthrow the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, and to introduce a royal one in its stead. In this however he did not succeed; but he had better fortune in his new regulations for managing the post-offices in America, as he got himself the appointment of joint post-master-general for America; the profits of which place were near 5000 l. a year. Though he had greatly inveighed against the stamp-act, yet he procured the place of stamp-master for one of his friends. When the act was repealed, he got the same person a place in the customs, which was sold, by his advice, to the highest bidder before matters came to a crisis between Great-Britain and America.

As this gentleman, who was by this time honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws, grew every day warmer in what he was pleased to call the cause of American freedom, so he was indefatigable in his endeavours to keep alive the flame which had been kindled in the colonies. His letters for this purpose were often read by Mr. Samuel Adams at the Boston town-meetings; however, though their substance and the author of them were well known in England, yet he kept his place of post-master-general, till he avowed having transmitted those letters taken from Mr. Whately, which made such a noise both at home and abroad. It is remarkable, however, that Mr. Franklin did not make this declaration till a challenge had passed, and a duel was fought on the occasion; and after all, he never thought proper to let the world know how he came by them; though it is at present pretty well understood, that he got them by means of one Hubbard, a relation of his, whom he had put into the post-office at Boston.

Every

Every one knows the part that the doctor has taken during the present troubles; his examination at the bar of the House of Commons, and his embassy to France, we have already mentioned. It has always appeared from his conduct, that he was ever a friend to America, even before the beginning of these troubles. He is now more confirmed in his sentiments than ever; and it is the opinion of politicians, that he will ever prove the greatest obstacle to her reconciliation with the mother-country.

As opposite parties are apt to see things through different mediums, objects are generally presented discoloured to their view. Some look upon the doctor, in his public character, as the patron of liberty; in his private life, as a man of moderation, affability, and wisdom: whilst others will not allow him one good quality, but set him down as a sly incendiary in his political character, and a deceitful cunning pretender to that wisdom and to those virtues which, in reality, never entered his composition.

We may with safety pronounce, that whatever Dr. Franklin thinks, he acts as a most enthusiastic republican; and it appears evident, whatsoever were his motives, that he has greatly contributed to keep the breach open between Great-Britain and her colonies. He is a person of winning address, though he possesses great gravity as well as a reservedness of temper, which few, but those who well know him, can perceive, and much less can they be supposed to penetrate it. If we regard him as a politician, he is deep and designing: he is certainly a man of letters, and an investigator of the principles of nature, though he has sometimes deviated, perhaps, into the ex-

travagances of philosophy. We do not find that the doctor was ever married; but he has a son, the loyal governor of the Jerseys, who was a prisoner with the rebels for near two years. It is said, the governor's mother died in the streets of Philadelphia.

Mr. Henry Laurens was the son of a French protestant, a saddler, in Charles-Town, to which business the youth was bound; but disliking it, he came over to London, where for some time he acted as a merchant's clerk, and at length became himself a merchant; the foundation of his fortune being laid by a lucky stroke in the insurance way. He was generally reckoned an honest trader, but extremely sharp and strict in all his dealings, and was indefatigably industrious. He returned to Charles-Town in good circumstances, where he continued increasing his wealth; and made some progress in literature, to which, in his early life, he had not time to pay much attention.

He was a lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of militia commanded by colonel, since, general Grant, in the last war, and was with him on an expedition against the Cherokees; but we do not hear any thing of his military prowess.

When the American stamp-act was first passed, Mr. Laurens said, that all opposition to it was illegal, and declared himself much displeased with the behaviour of the populace, and the general disposition of the Americans upon this occasion: and he either was or seemed so sincere in his professions, as to draw upon him the threats of the people of Charles-Town, though it appears that they were by some means dissuaded from putting those threats in execution.

But

But when the stamp-act was repealed, and one triumph followed another, this gentleman began to change what were generally supposed to be his sentiments, and to adopt others which were more agreeable to those who called themselves the patriotic party, in that country. It is remarkable, that before things had come to an extremity, Mr. Laurens had a ship seized by one of his majesty's cruizers, which was condemned by Sir Egerton Leigh, a most upright judge, who had married the owner's niece. This was a piece of impartial justice in Sir Egerton; but his wife's uncle libelled him in public and private, and never forgave him; and probably, as great effects are often produced by little causes, this incident might have contributed to give a turn to his wavering political opinions.

While the flame was yet spreading in America, Mr. Laurens came over to Europe, where he remained for three years, the greatest part of which time he spent in England; from whence he returned to Charles-Town in the year 1775, where he was received as a welcome guest, and as able to assist his country, even in the plans then forming, by the additional knowledge he had acquired of the nature of affairs, and especially of the disposition of the people of this country. Here he appeared a warm advocate for the cause of the colonists, though in England he had put on the appearance of much candour and moderation.

He had by this time so much recommended himself to the people, that he was sent as a delegate to the general congress. It was in the year 1777 that he was elected president of that assembly; and he was in that station when the Sa-

ratoga convention was concluded, and it was chiefly owing to him that this treaty was so shamefully broken on the part of the Americans; a circumstance which he attempted to justify, as has been already observed, by the most frivolous pretences. It is generally supposed that he will be detained a prisoner during the American war.

While Sir Henry Clinton and general Washington lay both pretty quiet in their quarters, at a time when the distresses which the circulation of continental currency sunk to its lowest ebb the bad pay and clothing of the army, and many other circumstances had introduced a mutinous spirit among the continental troops; brigadier Arnold, who never approved of the French alliance, had for some time held a correspondence with the English general, which was principally carried on by means of major André, adjutant-general to the British army in America. This young officer undertook to give Arnold a meeting at a place appointed, whither he was conducted in the Vulture sloop of war, and conversed with that commander; but was advised to disguise himself, and, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to take another route to New-York: but at Ferry-Town he was taken by three militia-men, afterwards brought before general Washington, and in the end executed as a spy; while general Arnold hearing that Washington had visited his quarters during his absence, and that a John Anderson was taken, made his escape with all possible expedition, without being able to bring over any of the soldiery, though he expected to have brought over near 2000 men.

The fortune of the unhappy major André was so singular, and has been so much the subject of conversation,

conversation, that some particulars of his life, as well as the relation of the manner in which he encountered his fate, may not be here improperly presented to the reader.

The major's father, Mr. André, was a native of Geneva, and a very considerable merchant in the Levant trade. This his son was educated under Mr. Newcombe, at Hackney; from whence he was sent for some years to Geneva. On his return, he attended his father's compting-house; after whose death, disliking that occupation, he first entered into the army in the month of January 1771. The next year he went over to Germany, and visited several courts of Europe: he returned to England at the end of that year, and in 1774 embarked to join his regiment, the Royal English Fuzileers, in which he was a lieutenant, then lying in America: in 1775, he was taken prisoner at St. John's, by the rebels under Montgomery, but was exchanged soon after general Howe took possession of New-York, and was appointed a captain in the 26th regiment: he was taken great notice of by this commander, and was afterwards made aide-de-camp to major-general Grey, by his recommendation, in which station he was present at the principal engagements in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, during the campaigns in 1777 and 1778. The generals Howe and Grey leaving New-York, general Clinton, who succeeded the former, now appointed this young gentleman one of his aides-de-camp, who soon gained his confidence and esteem, by his valour, prudence, and amiable deportment. Every thing that was thought would render his situation agreeable was done by his new patron to oblige him; he was first made a major of provincials, and afterwards, through the same interest, was constituted a major on the establishment, and

received from his majesty, in 1780, the appointment of adjutant-general of the British army in America. It was just after this that he was involved in the fatal misfortune that put an end to all his hopes, and brought him to what his enemies meant should be an ignominious death.

We have already mentioned, that he was taken in disguise, and passing under a feigned name through the rebel lines. The circumstance was as follows: being instructed to treat with general Arnold, he embarked accordingly, and landed from the Vulture sloop of war in the night of the 21st of September 1780, under the Haverstraw mountain. The boat which brought him on shore carried no flag. He had on his regimentals, with a furtout coat over them. He had an interview with general Arnold; and it was understood, when he left the Vulture sloop, that he was to return that night, but it was then doubtful; however, if that was not possible, he was promised that he should be concealed on shore in a place of safety till the next night: but on the preceding day, when he made inquiries how he should get back, he was informed that he could not return as he came, but must take a different route. On the evening of the 22d of September, he passed King's-Ferry, between the American posts of Stoney and Verplank's Points, in another dress, unhappily, as he had been advised, and under the name of John Anderson, and was taken at Ferry-Town, as he was making the best of his way to New-York, by some of the country militia.

Major André, on being taken, had written to general Washington, acknowledging his real name and situation, and disclaiming all design of coming disguised within the American lines.

Several

Several letters were sent from Sir Henry Clinton, Arnold, and others, in his favour, as soon as the misfortune was known at New-York ; but all would not avail ; Washington only answered, that he should refer the affair to a board of officers, who met accordingly, to determine the fate of the prisoner, whose openness of behaviour, which deserved admiration, according to their own account, only saved them the trouble of producing so much evidence against him, as would otherwise have been indispensably necessary to convict him. His own letters being shewn in the court, were acknowledged ; and being asked whether he had any thing to say relative to the facts in question (in the course of which he had been of opinion that he did not come under the denomination of a spy) he answered, that he left them to operate with the board. Their report was unfavourable ; their sentence death ; and that with all the ignominy that attends the execution of a felon.

Though major André feared not to resign his breath for the cause which he had espoused ; yet the disgrace that awaited him, could not but give him some concern, and this produced the following address to the American general.

“ Sir, buoyed above the terrors of death by
“ the consciousness of a life devoted to honour-
“ able pursuits, and stained with no action which
“ can give me remorse, I trust that the request I
“ make to your Excellency, at this serious period,
“ and which is to soften my last moments, will
“ not be rejected.

“ Sympathy towards a soldier will surely in-
“ duce your Excellency and a military tribunal,
“ to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings
“ of a man of honour.

" Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me; if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, not of resentment, I shall experience the operations of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet. I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

" JOHN ANDRE."

But this moderate request was rejected; it was resolved that the unfortunate gentleman should be executed according to his sentence. The Americans themselves give testimony to the undaunted courage and fortitude with which he suffered; for the following is their account of his death.

When he was led to the place of execution, he bowed familiarly to all those with whom he had been acquainted during his confinement. A smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his mind: being arrived at the fatal spot, he asked with some emotion, "Must I then die in this manner?" He was told, it was unavoidable. "I am reconciled to my fate, said he, but not to the mode." However, soon recollecting himself, he added, "It will be but a single pain;" and springing upon the cart, performed the last offices to himself with a composure that excited the admiration and melted the hearts of the beholders. Being told the final moment was at hand, and asked whether he had any thing to say, he answered, "Nothing but to request you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man." Among the extraordinary circumstances that attended him in the midst of his enemies, he died universally esteemed and universally regretted.

Major

Major André at the time of his death was 31 years of age: he was well made, but rather slender, about five feet nine inches high, and very nimble and active: he was of a dark complexion, but had an agreeable though rather a serious countenance: he excelled in drawing, painting, dancing, and other polite accomplishments; and was well skilled in the modern languages. The troops at New-York were scarcely withheld from rushing to immediate action as soon as they heard of the execution of this unfortunate young gentleman.

When Sir Henry Clinton found that all his solicitations for the life of his friend were in vain, though he had promised any exchange required, or indulgence to any friend of Washington's that might fall into his hands, sent a flag of truce to request that major André's body might be carried to his quarters. This being refused, on the idea that burying the prisoner under the gibbet was part of his sentence; the general yet humbled himself once more, so far as to desire that it might *afterwards be taken up*, in order to be interred at New-York with military honours; but this also was refused: a circumstance which candour itself must own can do no honour to Washington's feelings as a soldier, and is really a disgrace to his humanity.

C H A P. XVII.

Brigadier-general Arnold's Address to the Americans—Sketches of his Life—Secession of Part of General Washington's Army—Sir Henry Clinton's unsuccessful Attempts to treat with them—Hurricanes in the West-Indies.

BRigadier-general Arnold, being now at New-York, having sent a formal renunciation of his commission, and assigned some reasons of his conduct, afterwards published the following address to the Americans.

“ Having reason to believe that the principles
 “ I avowed in my address of the 7th instant ani-
 “ mated the greatest part of this continent, I re-
 “ joice in the opportunity I have of inviting you
 “ to join his majesty's arms.

“ His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton has autho-
 “ rised me to raise a corps of cavalry and infan-
 “ try, who are to be clothed, subsisted, and
 “ paid, as the other troops are in the British ser-
 “ vice: and those who bring in horses, arms, or
 “ accoutrements, are to be paid their value, or to
 “ have liberty to sell them: to every non-com-
 “ missioned officer and private, a bounty of three
 “ guineas will be given: and as the commander
 “ in chief is pleased to allow me to nominate the
 “ officers, I shall, with infinite satisfaction, em-
 “ brace the opportunity of advancing men whose
 “ valour I have witnessed, and whose principles
 “ are favourable to our union with Britain and
 “ true American liberty.” [Here follows a spe-
 cification

cification of the number of men that each officer in this case is expected to bring with him.]

“ Great as these encouragements must appear,
“ (continues Mr. Arnold) to such as have suffered
“ every distress of want, of pay, of hunger, and
“ nakedness, from the neglect, contempt, and corruption of congress; these are nothing to the
“ motives that I expect will influence the brave
“ and generous minds, that I hope to have the
“ honour to command.

“ I wish to lead a chosen band of Americans
“ to the attainments of peace, liberty, and safety,
“ the first objects of taking the field; and with
“ them to share in the glory of regaining our native country from the grasping hand of France,
“ as well as from the ambitious and interested
“ views of a desperate party amongst ourselves,
“ who in listening to French overtures, and rejecting those from Great-Britain, have brought
“ the colonies to the very brink of destruction.

“ Friends, fellow-soldiers, and citizens, rouse
“ and judge for yourselves: reflect on what you
“ have lost; consider to what you are reduced,
“ and by your courage repel the ruin that still
“ threatens you.

“ Your country once was happy, and had the
“ promised terms been embraced, your last two
“ years of misery had been spent in peace and
“ happiness, and repairing the desolations of a
“ quarrel that would have set the interest of
“ Great-Britain and America in a true light, and
“ cemented their friendships; whereas you are
“ now the prey of avarice, the scorn of your
“ enemies, and the pity of your friends.

“ You were promised liberty by the leaders of
“ your affairs; but is there an individual in the
“ enjoy-

“ enjoyment of it, except your oppressors ? Who
“ among you dares to speak or write what he
“ thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed
“ you of your property, imprisons your persons,
“ *drags* you to the field of battle, and is daily de-
“ lugging your country with your blood ?

“ You are flattered with *Independency* as pre-
“ ferable to a redress of grievances ; and for that
“ shadow, instead of real felicity, are sunk into
“ all the wretchedness of poverty by the rapaci-
“ ty of your own rulers. Already you are disqua-
“ lified to support the pride of character they
“ taught you to aim at, and must inevitably shortly
“ belong to one or other of the great powers
“ their folly and wickedness have drawn into
“ conflict. Happy for you, that you may become
“ the subjects of Great-Britain, if you nobly dis-
“ dain to wear the shackles of France !

“ What is America now, but a land of widows,
“ orphans, and beggars ? And should the parent
“ nation cease her exertions to deliver you, what
“ security remains to you, even for the enjoy-
“ ment of the consolation of that religion, for
“ which your fathers braved the ocean, the hea-
“ then, and the wilderness ? Do you know that
“ the eye which guides this pen, lately saw your
“ mean and profligate congress, at *mass* for the
“ soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory, and
“ participating the rights of a church, against
“ whose antichristian corruptions, your pious an-
“ cestors would have witnessed with their blood.

“ As to you who have been soldiers in the conti-
“ nental army, can you at this day want evidence
“ that the funds of your country are exhausted,
“ or that the managers have applied them to their
“ own private use ? In either case, you surely can

“ continue

" continue no longer in their service with honour
" or advantage; yet you have hitherto been their
" supporters in that cruelty, which with an equal
" indifference to yours, as well as the labour and
" blood of others, is devouring a country that,
" the moment you quit their colours, will be
" redeemed from their tyranny.

" But what need of arguments, to such as feel
" infinitely more misery than tongue can express?
" I therefore only add my promise of the most
" affectionate welcome, and attention to all
" who are disposed to join me, in the measures
" necessary to close the scene of our afflictions,
" which, intolerable as they are, must continue
" to increase, until we have the wisdom (shewn
" of late by Ireland) of being contented with
" the liberality of the parent country, who still
" offers protection with the immediate resto-
" ration of our ancient privileges, civil and sa-
" cred, and a perpetual exemption from all
" taxes, but such as we shall think fit to impose
" on ourselves.

B. ARNOLD."

General Arnold has since been put at the head of a body of troops, and, landing in Virginia, has made great destruction of the rebel stores there; his last letters are dated from Petersburg, about 70 miles distance from the royal army. His wife and family were sent back to New-York, at his desire; but he is branded by congress as the worst of traitors.

Mr. Arnold was born at Norwich in Connecticut. His father was both a shoemaker and carpenter: he afterwards became a shopkeeper; but failed in business, and died in prison. Dr. Luthorp,

thorp, who was a physician, apothecary, surgeon, and likewise a merchant, took the youth apprentice after his father's decease; and when he was out of his time, as a token that he was satisfied with his conduct, made him a present of 51l. sterl. and on his departure for England, gave him letters of recommendation to his correspondent in London. When he arrived in London, he lodged in Holborn, and during his residence here, succeeded so far as to purchase apothecaries wares, and other goods to a considerable amount. He then returned to America, where he set up in business, and appeared in a flourishing-way, keeping ten servants and as many horses; but at length he failed, and was thrown into a jail, from whence he was released by a bankrupt act. Soon after his release, he had an amour with the high-sheriff Mansfield's daughter. The sheriff threatened him with death; but he married his daughter by stealth, and was afterwards reconciled to his father-in-law; in conjunction with whom he carried on a very extensive trade, and made voyages up Hudson's River, and to the West-Indies; which qualified him afterwards to act as an expert seamen on the Lakes.

A report having been spread, that Mr. Arnold had suffered considerably from an amour in the islands; he brought a suit against the master of a vessel, who was the propagator of the scandal; and sent a young lawyer to the West-Indies, in order to procure proper evidence; which was accordingly brought, but it could not be received, because the affidavits were not sealed according to the custom of Connecticut. As Mr. Arnold refused to pay the lawyer's bill on this account, a new law-suit must have ensued, but that the parties

parties chose rather to submit the matter to arbitration.

A decision was given against Arnold, whereby it was adjudged, in a manner rather extraordinary, that he should pay all expences, and £28 fees: but Mr. Arnold, either on account of his finances being then low, or from an idea of the injustice of the award, refused to abide by this judgment. He was at this time busied in building a fine house at New-Haven, which he was for the present obliged to leave incomplete: but it has since been finished, furnished, and inhabited, by his sister. His taking part in the commotions which now began, sufficiently sheltered him from all creditors, at the same time that it entirely changed the plan of his future life and œconomy.

It was at New-Haven above mentioned that this gentleman first distinguished himself, in an attack upon the Sandimonians, in September 1774. The loyalty of that sect, rather than any religious prejudice, had caused them to be persecuted; their houses were assaulted, and their persons treated with great indignity, for refusing to sign the solemn league and covenant. Colonel Wooster, who had taken an active part among the rebels, sent a message to the reverend Mr. Peters; the purport of which was: "That they
" would pay the churchmen a visit, as soon as they
" had done with the damnable Sandimonians." Most of the clergy left the town; but Mr. Peters, who had been barbarously used by the mob before, with one church of England minister, and a servant, stood upon their defence. When Arnold arrived, Peters told him at the door, that he had already been in the power of two mobs, but never would be in the hands of a third. The
people

people urged their chief to lead ; but he prudently declined the undertaking. " I know Peters (said " he) to be a man of his word ; let them lead " that please : " and Wooster and Mansfield received the same answers from the clergyman.

The assembly of the colony soon after appointed Mr. Arnold a colonel ; and he thought himself happy in the service. In the summer of 1775, he scoured Lake Champlain with a chosen party, took a king's ship at St. John's, and a schooner at Skeensborough. On his return from the Lakes, he joined the rebel army, then blockading Boston ; and afterwards made an irruption into Canada ; the event of which we have already related. Various are the judgments formed upon his present conduct ; but his reasons for changing sides have some cogency in them, if, in his address, he has indeed spoken the sincere language of the heart.

After Arnold's secession, a considerable body of the soldiery separated from the main army ; and, having drawn up a list of grievances, proposed certain terms to congress ; but stood aloof from their countrymen till they heard the effect of their conduct. They had appointed a board of sergeants : with these Sir Henry Clinton endeavoured to treat ; promising them their arrears, and leave to depart, to all such as chose to go home ; as well as encouragement to such as would join the royal standard : but, as they were now in treaty with Washington, who had watched them with a jealous eye, they delivered up the British messenger. Sir Henry's design came to nothing, and matters were made up on their demands being granted. Doubtless, those were some of the men whom Arnold, by his address,

dress, had promised himself to bring over with him; and who perhaps might have been led into such a design, if the discovery of the private correspondence with that general, and his flight, had not totally altered the face of affairs.

In the month of February this year, came on the trial of George Gordon, Esq; formerly called lord George Gordon, head of the Protestant Association; whose meeting occasioned those dreadful riots in June 1780, by which the metropolis was ruined. His lordship was acquitted, and the Protestant Association (some of whom had interested themselves in the affairs of America) declared innocent; but several of the rioters suffered condign punishment.

Advices were about this time received, of a most tremendous hurricane in the West-Indies; which nearly ruined Barbadoes and Jamaica, damaged St. Kitt's, and was severely felt by most of the West-India islands. The fleets of both nations, but chiefly the French, suffered greatly on this occasion; which occasioned them for some time to be inactive. All possible succours were sent from England, as soon as time would permit, to those settlements: but it will be long indeed before they recover their former appearance.



C H A P. XVIII.

General Gates defeated—Sumpter's Party dispersed by Colonel Tarleton—He receives a Check from General Morgan—Sketches of the Lives of both these Commanders—The War continued—St. Eustatius taken—Present State of Affairs in America and the West-Indies.

NEW forces were daily collecting in the Carolinas, as well as in Virginia: some of these had frequent skirmishes with the parties of the king's troops and the loyalists, who armed to assist them. As lord Cornwallis's army was but small, he found himself much incommoded, in his endeavours at once to maintain the posts he was to occupy, and to succour his friends in other quarters; both of which appeared almost equally necessary. At this time his lordship was acquainted by lord Rawdon, that the enemy, to the amount of 6000 men, commanded by the famous Horatio Gates, was advancing fast upon him; whose operations were to be seconded by 1000 more, under the rebel general Sumpter. The main body of the army moved immediately; and Camden (towards which lord Rawdon had contracted his posts) being left for the defence of some provincials, and a detachment of the sixty-third regiment, the commander in chief resolved not to wait for the enemy in a place where he might be straitened: but, though he had not in all above 1400 men, to seek them, and offer them battle, at a time when there were between five and six thousand

thousand ready to oppose him; and, if all parties joined, he would have almost 7000 to oppose in the open field of battle.

This spirited resolution was accordingly pursued, in a manner that did equal honour to the courage and military skill of lord Cornwallis. He set out at ten o'clock at night on this expedition; and the following is the account of it's success:

"I had proceeded nine miles (says his lordship) when, at about half an hour past two in the morning, my advanced guard fell in with the enemy. By the weight of the fire, I was convinced they were in considerable force; and was soon assured, by some deserters and prisoners, that it was the whole rebel army in full march to attack us at Camden. I immediately halted and formed; and, the enemy doing the same, the firing soon ceased. Confiding in the disciplined courage of his majesty's troops, and well informed by several intelligent inhabitants, that the ground on which both armies stood, being narrowed by swamps on the right and left, was extremely favourable to my numbers, I did not chuse to hazard the great stake for which I was going to fight, on the uncertainty and confusion to which an attack in the dark is so peculiarly liable: but, having taken measures, that the enemy should not have it in their power to avoid an engagement on that ground, I resolved to defer the attack till day. At the dawn, I made my last disposition; and formed the troops in the following order: The division of the right, consisting of a small troop of light-infantry, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiment, under the command of colonel Webster: the division of the left, consisting of the

the volunteers of Ireland, infantry of the legion, and part of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton's North-Carolina regiment, under the command of lord Rawdon; with a six and two three pounders: the seventy-first regiment, with a six pounder, was formed as a reserve; one battalion in the rear of the division of the right, the other of that of the left; and the cavalry of the legion in the rear, and, the country being woody, close to the seventy-first regiment, with orders to seize any opportunity that might offer, to break the enemy's lines, and to be ready to protect their own, in case any corps should meet with a check.

" This disposition was just made, when I perceived that the enemy, having also persisted in their resolution to fight, were formed in two lines opposite and near to us; and, observing a movement on their left, which I supposed to be with an intention to make some alteration on their order, I directed lieutenant-colonel Webster to begin the attack; which was done with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole front. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which, preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. Our line continued to advance in good order, and with the cool intrepidity of experienced British soldiers, keeping up a constant fire, or making use of bayonets, as opportunity offered: and, after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the enemy into total confusion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. At this instant, I ordered the cavalry to complete the rout, which
was

was performed with their usual promptness and gallantry: and after doing great execution in the field of battle, they continued the pursuit to Hanging-Rock, distant twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened; during which, many of the enemy were slain, a number of prisoners, and near 130 waggons, in one of which was a damaged brass cannon, a considerable quantity of military stores, and all the baggage and camp equipage of the enemy, fell into our hands.

“The loss of the enemy was very considerable; a number of colours, and seven pieces of brass cannon, being all the artillery that was in the action, and all their ammunition waggons, were taken: between 8 and 900 were killed; among whom, was brigadier-general Gregory; and 1000 were made prisoners, many of whom were wounded; among the latter were major-general Baron de Kalbe, since dead, and brigadier-general Rutherford. The loss of the royal army was not above 70 killed, and about 255 wounded and missing, upon this occasion.”

After the battle was over, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was dispatched with orders to seek out general Sumpter, who was then at the head of a separate body. He came up with him at the Catabaw-River, and with less than 400 men routed his 700 rebels, killing 250, dispersing the whole camp, taking 300 prisoners, and making himself master of two pieces of brass cannon and 44 waggons. He also retook 100 of our men, and released 150 militia that had been made captives by the enemy. As on both these occasions several persons were found in arms against us, who before had received the king's pardon,

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which

which they had in their pockets, some of them were executed at head-quarters: yet, the war was not extinguished; parties were again gathered together, and the province was still in disorder.

Lord Cornwallis being now again in motion, the rebels endeavoured to make a diversion at Ninety-Six; to cover which, general Morgan, with a body of continentals and militia, and also a body of horse under colonel Washington, had taken post on the banks of the Pacolet. To dislodge them from thence, to favour the march of the army, and to relieve Ninety-Six, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was detached with a body of cavalry and infantry to the westward of Broad-River, and by continuing forced marches with unremitting ardour, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th of February he came up with the enemy, whom he found drawn up under cover of a wood.

The vigorous attack of the royalists dispersed the militia, and disordered the continentals; but in the eagerness of their pursuit, receiving an unexpected fire, they were thrown into great disorder; the rebels now followed their blow, and the whole of this little army must have been destroyed or surrendered themselves, but that the brave Tarleton, recovering from the astonishment that at first seized him, to see a veteran corps so suddenly give ground, which was originally owing to Morgan's riflemen, immediately attacked colonel Washington's horse, and forcing them from their position, afterwards faced the infantry till he was enabled to bring off such of his men as had been rallied; after which he found it necessary to retreat, having retaken a part of his baggage that had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and marched to Hammond's.

Hammond's-Ford, leaving his killed and wounded on the field.

Such is the true relation of an action which was looked upon at New-York as a drawn battle, whilst at Philadelphia it was represented as a total defeat. Certainly the rebels were the victors; but even in this unfortunate circumstance the gallant Tarleton shewed his wonted vigour, vigilance, and ability; and has since continued to be the delight of his friends and a terror to the enemy.

This officer is not above twenty-five years of age. He was the son of a Liverpool merchant, but being not at all attached to the commercial line, he obtained a parent's permission to change it for a more active sphere of life. At first he was a cornet of dragoons, about the time when the rebellion began in America. He was always remarkable for his vivacity, being humourous, whimsical, and amorous. As he chose to be in action, he was happy in embarking for America, whither he went in the character of a volunteer; and being distinguished soon after his arrival by his activity, Sir William Eskine, general of the cavalry, made him his brigadier-major. This was in the year 1777; but as the cavalry of general Howe was not often brought into action, Tarleton had little opportunity at first of displaying his character at this time. In an interval of inaction with the enemy, he employed himself in roving and in intrigues, and was absolutely caught in one of the last with a brother officer's mistress. He was (as well as major André) one of the knights of the famous Mischiorza, instituted on the return of a certain knight from America. It is remarkable on this occasion, that the name of Tarleton's Squire, his device, and his

motto, were such as marked his character. The name of his Squire was *heart*; his device a *light dragoon*; his motto, *swift, vigilant, and bold*. When the British army quitted Philadelphia and returned to New-York, in the year 1778, captain Sutherland obtained leave of Sir Henry Clinton to raise a corps which was to be called, the Caledonian Volunteers. This body being raised, Sutherland, now a provincial major, quitted the command in favour of lord Cathcart: it was new modelled, and called, the British Legion; at which time Mr. Tarleton was appointed colonel of it.

In the summer of 1779, he acquired great credit in his expedition from King's-Bridge; and in the spring of the following year he was the person who surpris'd and defeated the American cavalry during the siege of Charles-Town, near Biggin's-Bridge, by which means all communication was cut off between the besieged and the open country; nor had he met with any material check or misfortune, till the affair above related.

Brigadier-general Morgan, who commanded in that action, was originally a waggoner, and in this employ attended the baggage with general Braddock's army. For some misbehaviour, the quarter-master ordered him a severe lashing. He afterwards settled at Skenardo, where he followed the business of deer-hunting. In this trade he learned to be a good musket-man, and also became accustomed to traverse the woods; and on this account he was chosen to command a company of riflemen, at whose head he marched to Boston in 1775; and was afterwards sent to accompany general Arnold in his Canadian expedition. He is said to have signalized himself in the unsuccessful attack upon Quebec, insomuch that he

he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and served under Gates and Arnold against general Burgoyne. This latter commander declared, Morgan's corps had become so formidable to the Indians, that he could not bring them within the sound of one of his rifle-shot. Leaving Gates again, he joined Washington; but we hear no more of him till about a twelvemonth ago he was appointed to command in Virginia, which was his native country, and from whence he came with his men to oppose the progress of the British arms in the neighbouring provinces.

While things were in this situation, an attack which had for some time before been concerted in England, was made upon the island of St. Eustatius, before which place Sir George Brydges Rodney and general Vaughan appeared on the 3d of February, demanding a surrender of the island to the arms of his Britannic majesty, and allowing the governor only one hour for deliberation. This summons, which was very concise, produced the following answer from the Dutch commandant.

" Governor De Graaff not having it in his
" power to make any defence against the British
" forces which have invested the island of St.
" Eustatius, surrenders the same and all its depen-
" dencies to Sir George Brydges Rodney and ge-
" neral Vaughan: well knowing the honour and
" humanity of these commanders in chief, the
" governor recommends the town and it's inha-
" bitants to their clemency."

There were found 78 pieces of cannon from 18 to 3 pounders, 1569 pounds weight of gunpowder, besides muskets, balls, cartouch-boxes, cutlasses, &c. And the quantity of merchandise

in the island was so great, that the warehouses could not contain it. The islands of St. Martin and Saba surrendered likewise; and the blow was severely felt by the Dutch. The ships in the harbour were seized; and a valuable convoy of thirty sail, which had left Eustatius the day before, were pursued and taken by captain Reynolds. The Dutch admiral fell in the action. A great part of the vessels have been since retaken, on their passage home, by the French fleet, which captured twenty-two ships; but none of the property so taken was restored to the subjects of their high-mightinesses, or the other claimants.

To counterbalance in some measure these successes, the Spaniards, who had foreseen the design of the English to penetrate into the rich province of Guatimala (and who had possessed themselves of Fort St. Juan, which however they were afterwards obliged to evacuate) laid siege to Pensacola; which they took after an obstinate resistance: the blowing up of a magazine, by accident, principally contributing to the besiegers success. The garrison obtained honourable terms, being conveyed to New-York.

FLORIDA is divided into two districts, east and west; of the former, St. Augustine is the capital: Pensacola is the chief town of the latter. It is situate on the west side of a fine harbour, the best upon the coast; and, on the eastward of it, a fine river enters the bay of Mexico, which comes about thirty-three leagues out of the country, and is formed by the junction of two other rivers. The soil is sandy, but produces pine-trees, fit for masts. Pensacola lies about forty miles to the eastward of Fort Louis and Mobile. St. Augustine, the capital of East-Florida, is situate near Fort St. Mark's (so called

called from a river of that name) and opposite to an island called Anastasia. This town is about half a mile in length, fortified with bastions, demi-bastions, and a ditch; and has besides an abbatis, which renders the fortifications very respectable. The town is well constructed; but the streets are purposely built narrow, for the convenience of affording shade. East-Florida is the most southern colony on the continent of British-America. It is in general thought not unhealthy; is hot, subject to heavy rains, and not very fruitful: however, it abounds in forest-trees, plants, and shrubs. Fruit-trees transplanted hither thrive well; and the soil is adapted to produce indigo. But the chief advantage arising from the possession of Florida was, it's serving as a barrier to our southern colonies. The loss of Pensacola is likely therefore to be dreaded as to it's consequences; as it is likely that the Spaniards will next attack St. Augustine's, of which, if they should become masters, they may proceed to penetrate into Georgia and the Carolinas.

Since the capture of the Eustatia ships, the English fleet under admiral Parker, engaged the Dutch under admiral Zoutman, off the Dogger-Bank; the contest was long and bloody: the Dutch had the superiority of one ship of the line, and some large frigates. After an obstinate dispute, which cost many lives on both sides, the enemy was obliged to bear away for the Texel, in a shattered condition, their ships being scarce able to keep above the water; and one of them, of seventy-four guns, sunk before they entered the river. The British admiral was not in a condition to follow them. The fleets had each a convoy with them: our's sailed away with a fair wind, on a signal given; but

but those of the Dutch, after awaiting the issue of the engagement, were constrained to put back to the Texel.

To return to America.—Though the royal troops in South-Carolina had so repeatedly baffled the rebels, yet, as they found resources in the neighbouring provinces, they were still able to make head occasionally, and to turn upon their pursuers. While lord Cornwallis was intent on prosecuting his plan, of regularly reducing the country, and penetrating into North-Carolina, a body of troops, assembled under general Greene, with an intent of joining general Morgan, drew his lordship's attention. Accordingly, he marched in quest of the provincials; who chose, by every possible means, to avoid him: but, after various movements, and having defeated several of their parties, coming up with them at last at Guildford on the 15th, they were brought to a general engagement in a woody country.

The first battalion of guards, and the regiment of Bose, beginning the attack, were soon warmly engaged with the enemy. The seventy-first regiment and grenadiers, with the second battalion of guards, hearing the fire advance on their left, continued to move forward; the artillery keeping pace with them, and the cavalry following. The second battalion first gained the clear ground near Guildford-Court-House; where they found a corps of continental infantry, much superior to them in number, formed in the open field on the left of the road. Being impatient to signalize themselves, they attacked, and presently defeated them, taking two six-pounders: but, pursuing them into the woods with too much ardour, were
thrown

thrown into confusion by a heavy fire; and immediately charged, and driven back into the field by colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the two six-pounders which they had taken. But the enemy's cavalry was soon repulsed, by a well-directed fire from two three-pounders, just brought up by lieutenant M. Leod; and by the appearance of the grenadiers, of the guards, and of the seventy-first regiment, which were now coming out of the wood, opposite to the courthouse. By the spirited exertions of general O' Hara, though wounded, the second battalion of guards was soon rallied, and, supported by the grenadiers, returned to the charge. At the same time, the twenty-third regiment arriving from the left, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton advancing with part of the cavalry, the enemy were put to flight, and the two six-pounders once again taken. The thirty-third regiment, and the light-infantry, completely routed the corps with which they engaged; and so put an end to the action in that quarter. While a part of the army were ordered to pursue, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was detached with his cavalry to the right; where a heavy fire had for some time continued: he was successful; and, being well supported, soon determined the battle: the militia dispersing in the woods, and the continentals drawing off by the way of Ready-Fork. The action lasted half an hour, and the retiring enemy did not stop till they had got eighteen miles from the field of battle. In this engagement the royalists had ninety-three killed, and about 107 wounded; the loss of the enemy was uncertain.

General Greene however, after being thus defeated, marched to Wilmington; whence getting
some

some supplies, and recruiting his scattered forces, he set out for Camden, which he thought to have found ill defended : but lord Rawdon, who was left there, did not wait for the enemy's attack. On the contrary, he, with about 800 men, marched out to meet Greene ; encountered and defeated him at Hobkirk-Hill, and would have taken their artillery, but that it lay concealed in a hollow way, and was brought off by their numerous cavalry. The pursuit continued for above three miles.

Lord Rawdon, whom we have before had occasion to mention, is the eldest son of the present earl of Moirise, and is only in the twenty-seventh year of his age. If he should survive his father and his uncle, he will be one of the richest earls in Great-Britain or Ireland. He has two brothers in the army, one of whom is the hon^{ble}. John Rawdon, late a captain in the fourth regiment, who lost a leg at the battle of Brandywine, and who was promoted to a government in the Isle of Wight. The title is drawn from a place called Rawdon in Yorkshire, a grant from William the Conqueror to the family ; which however is now settled in Ireland. Lord Rawdon went with his regiment to Boston on the breaking out of the present rebellion ; and arrived there just before the battle of Bunker's-Hill : he removed to Halifax ; but did not accompany Sir William Howe on his expedition up the Chesapeak-River. Sir Henry Clinton made him his aide-de-camp ; and he acted in that capacity, when Sir Henry sailed up the North-River towards Albany : he was afterwards appointed adjutant-general to the British army, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and a new corps was raised for him in Ireland, and
was

was in great favour with the general till the autumn of 1779, when his lordship, together with Sir Henry's old friend col. Innis, lost their influence with him. Some imputed this to lord Rawdon's having been made a provincial colonel through the interest of the officer last mentioned, when at home in 1779, which was done without the participation of the commander in chief, and which he deemed to be an improper step with regard to the other regular officers: however that was, his lordship was soon after displaced; and major André was appointed adjutant-general in his room.

The little army under lord Rawdon was expected soon to be increased to double it's number.

M. De Grasse, with 23 ships of the line, having conducted a convoy safe into Fort-Royal, stood out to face the English fleet (consisting but of 17) then in those seas; a small part of which immediately engaged him; the remainder, not being able to come up, had no share in the action. The enemy having the weather-gage at this time, and both fleets standing to the S. E. the engagement began at about half an hour past eleven in the morning, and continued till past three in the afternoon, when the van of the enemy made sail, hauling their wind, and would not be brought to action again, though Sir Samuel Hood followed them, and used every effort for that purpose.

As to the present state of the war in America: In New-York, it seems to be rather at a stand; Sir Henry Clinton appearing to lie inactive at New-York, though in fact he is ready to send succours, as from a common centre, to any part which may be attacked. Washington, though he has for some time threatened an attack upon York-Island, seems
contented

contented to remain within his lines; as knowing, that the British troops, and loyal Americans there (should he make such an attempt) are well prepared for his reception. St. Juan being evacuated on our part, has put an end to our hopes of penetrating into South-America: on the other hand, as has been observed, we may rather apprehend their paying us a visit in Georgia; of which, however, as the commanders cannot but have been apprised before this time, it is to be supposed that they will be upon their guard, and act accordingly. In the mean time, Arnold has made some progress in Virginia. In South-Carolina, lord Rawdon, though at first obliged to retreat, has advanced again, on receiving a reinforcement; and has driven general Greene out of the province; while lord Cornwallis presses hard upon the marquis La Fayette and his American allies; and bids fair to restore the southern provinces to the king's peace, and to their dependence on the crown of Great-Britain.

Our late naval engagements in the West-Indies have by no means been decisive; yet we have kept the seas: and, as there is reason to think, that by this time we have a superiority in that quarter, and have no where been baffled by our enemies, there yet remains the expectation of such events as may maintain the dignity of Great-Britain; restore what has been rent from us; and at length be productive of an honourable peace on all sides.



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